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LETTER PRESS EDITION.

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OF

**The Battle of Agincourt.**

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
**Battle of Agincourt;**  
AND OF  
THE EXPEDITION  
OF  
HENRY THE FFIFTH INTO FRANCE:  
TO WHICH IS ADDED,  
THE ROLL OF THE MEN AT ARMS,  
IN THE ENGLISH ARMY.

---

BY NICHOLAS HARRIS NICOLAS, ESQ.

BARRISTER AT LAW, FELLOW OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTQUARIES.

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MULTA RENASCENTUR QUAE JAM CECIDERE.

HORACE.

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MDCCCXXVII.

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## TO THE KING.

SIRE,

It is with sentiments of the profoundest duty and veneration, that I presume to lay at your Majesty's feet, a  
HISTORY OF THE BATTLE OF AGINCOURT.

There is, Sire, I persuade myself, singular propriety in submitting a description of an event which forms so brilliant an epoch in English history, to the protection of your Majesty, under whose auspices, the splendour, even of that victory has been rivalled, if not eclipsed.

That your Majesty may long continue to hold the sceptre of this Empire, and thus ensure its glory in science, in literature, and in arms, is the fervent prayer of,

Sire,

Your Majesty's

Most humble, and dutiful

Subject and Servant,

NICHOLAS HARRIS NICOLAS.



## PREFACE.

AN apology for the publication of a HISTORY OF THE BATTLE OF AGINCOURT could scarcely be prefixed to it without conveying a tacit but severe reflection on the literary taste of the age, for if there be a subject that ought in an eminent degree to excite attention, it is a detailed account of an event which is identified with the military renown of this country, the imperishable glory of which, Englishmen are taught to appreciate almost as soon as they are taught to read. Two causes only could prevent a volume on the subject from being favorably received: either that no new information could be given, or that the attempt to supply it had entirely failed.

In justification of a History of the Battle of Agincourt, it may be sufficient to cite the observation of the late Bishop Nicholson, the competency of whose judgment few will have the temerity to dispute. Speaking of Henry the Fifth



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in his "Historical Library," that learned prelate says, "His single victory at Agencourt might have afforded matter for more volumes than (as far as I can yet learn) have been written on his whole reign." Since that opinion was expressed, numerous historical documents of the first importance have been brought to light; and, as it will be seen by the following pages, many of them present highly valuable information on Henry's first invasion of France. But even if no other data had been found, Bishop Nicholson's remark would not be less just, for a concentration of all recorded facts relative to that expedition was a desideratum which could only be supplied by a writer making it the sole object of his attention. Dr. Lingard, and Mr. Sharon Turner, have done as much as could be expected in illustration of it, but no one can be ignorant of the difference between writing a history of a particular event, and the Herculean task of examining and relating every material transaction in the annals of this country, from the

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time of the Romans. In a panorama of the metropolis and its vicinity, whatever may be the extent of the painting or the skill of the artist, St. Paul's Church would become a trifling object, and the simile may perhaps be allowed to convey an accurate idea of the difference between the labours of the historian of England, and of even so splendid a part of it as the victory of Agincourt. The one can do little more than give a correct outline of the principal features, as they are presented to his notice, whilst it is the duty of the other to fill up the canvas with every thing by which it can be illustrated or embellished. Individual conduct, letters, and all the usual materials for biography not only demand the attention of the local historian, but require to be woven, either entire or in parts into his narrative. By these, and a critical examination of dates, can he alone hope to arrive at just conclusions; to reconcile conflicting testimony; or from the mass, sometimes of prejudiced, often of ignorant chroniclers to compose a true

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and consistent statement. The time which these investigations consume prevents the possibility of their being effectually pursued by the general historian; and if more than a year has been necessary to produce a history of one event, a life as extended as that of the patriarchs of Scripture would be requisite for a history of England on a similar plan.

The cause which has produced this work, as well as the plan upon which it has been written, must be briefly explained.

A research among the MSS. in the British Museum accidentally discovered a list of the peers, knights, and men-at-arms, who were at Agincourt. From the interest which it possessed for their descendants, and still more from its containing data for estimating the amount of the English army on that occasion, it was immediately printed, and a few pages were intended to be prefixed to it containing a description of the battle, so as to make a small tract; but it appeared that a history of that victory which would be at all deserving of the appellation,

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would at least form an ordinary sized volume. The original idea was therefore abandoned, and it was resolved to collect all which had been said by *contemporary* writers of both countries on the subject; together with an account of the preparations for the expedition itself, from the public records.

In the execution of this task, the plan of former historical works has been slightly deviated from; for instead of merely citing the authorities for each assertion, the authorities themselves are translated and given at length in the first part of the work; to which the author has added his own narrative, deduced from such of the preceding statements as were consistent with each other and with truth.

The most valuable writer of the period is the anonymous chronicler, or rather historian, who is so continually referred to in the following pages. His labours have never been printed, but exist in the British Museum, in the Cottonian MS., Julius E. iv., and the Sloane MS. 1776. It appears that he was a priest, and,

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having accompanied the expedition, was, as he expressly tells us, present at Agincourt, where "he sat on horseback with the other priests, among the baggage in the rear of the battle." His MS. is in Latin, and it has never, it is believed, been cited by any other historian than Mr. Sharon Turner, and by him only in the octavo edition of his work. Such parts of it as relate to the year 1415 have now been literally translated; and every word which occurs from the day on which the fleet quitted England until Henry entered his palace at Westminster, after his return, has been introduced into the text. A few other inedited chronicles of the time, and more particularly that which has been since published from the Harleian MS. 565, and entitled a "Chronicle of London," have also been carefully consulted, and some curious facts have been gleaned from them. Of the printed authorities the most accurate seems to be the History of Charles VI. by Jean le Fevre, Seigneur of St. Remy, who asserts that he was with the English



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army, and the circumstantial manner in which he relates what he saw carries with it evidence both of his veracity and powers of observation. The contemporary writers who are more generally known, namely, the biographer of Henry, who styled himself Titus Livius, Elmham, Walsingham, Hardyng, Otterbourne, Monstrelet, Pierre de Fenin, and especially Jean Juvenal des Ursins, and those edited by Mons<sup>r</sup>. Labourneur have been copiously quoted, whilst most valuable information has been derived from the Fœdera, and Rolls of Parliament. As, however, the authority for every assertion in the work is given in the notes, a more detailed enumeration would be superfluous.

After briefly describing the grounds upon which Henry pretended to justify his invasion of France, an account is given from the Fœdera of the preparations for it, by levying men and *matériel* as well as by raising the necessary funds; and the extraordinary minuteness of these particulars cannot fail to amuse the most general reader, and to excite the interest



VIII. . . . PREFACE.

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to antiquaries. From that, and other sources of scarcely less authenticity, every fact which could be discovered of Henry's proceedings previous to his embarkation at Southampton, including a notice of the conspiracy of the Duke of York and Lord Scrope, has been stated, and which extend to p. lxxxvii. At that page the narrative of the chronicler in the Cottonian MS. Julius E. iv. is introduced into the text, whilst the notes contain such parts of every other contemporary writer's labours as relate to the subject, together with occasional remarks, illustrative of the circumstances or persons mentioned by them. These extracts and notes end at p. ccxlvii, from which to p. cclxii a metrical but faithful account of the expedition and battle by Lydgate is inserted. The Author has then resumed his own narration, and has submitted such comments as it is the province of the historian to make upon the events which are the subjects of his attention. These are again interrupted at p. ccclxxiv, by the singular and entertaining description which the

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same chronicler gives of the pageant prepared for Henry's reception into London upon his return, which is followed by Lydgate's metrical account of it. Towards the end are added, The Roll of the peers, knights, and men-at-arms who were at Agincourt, from the Harleian MS. 782. The names of the French noblemen who were there slain and taken, from the same MS. A list of the retinue of Henry V. in his first voyage, from the unpublished collections for the *Fœdera*, in Sloane's MSS. No. 6400. A copy of the variations between the preceding Roll and a more accurate transcript in the College of Arms. An Itinerary of the Expedition. A copy of the Ordinances made by Richard the Second for the government of the army in 1386, from the Harleian MS. 1309, and which were evidently acted upon in 1415. Some valuable notes by Dr. Meyrick on the equipment of an army of that period, &c.; and an Index to the Roll.

All the extracts have been translated, and this apparently easy task has been attended with difficulties which those

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he does not know whether he is depending on the assertions of a Dionysius or a Tacitus, and he may, for any thing he knows to the contrary, be reposing on the tales of the former that confidence which he perhaps would be willing to concede only to the philosophic narrative of the latter. The personal friends indeed of the historian may feel satisfied that he would advance nothing as matter of historic truth except what he had attentively examined and expressly believed; but what inference will all other persons draw from a history without note or reference? They will assuredly never rest their belief on its assertions; they will never receive its unsupported details as matter of strict and conclusive evidence." "

Of the style of this volume it would ill become its author to speak. It was his sole ambition to be correct and impartial: his first object, to ascertain what was true; his second, to relate those truths in plain and simple manner.

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\* Vol. xxvii. p. 307.

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only can believe who have attempted to give a literal version of early chroniclers, whether from the French or Latin of the middle ages. Those difficulties are only alluded to, in extenuation of occasional ruggedness, and probably also, of occasional misconceptions in the translations.

To some, the rigid manner in which every authority is cited may wear the appearance of pedantry; but the subjoined passage from the *Quarterly Review*, the beauty of which is only exceeded by its justice, explains in far abler language than his own, the motives by which the author was actuated, and forms his best defence. "The intrinsic value of a History depends upon the extent and accuracy of research displayed in its compilation; that extent can only be marked, that accuracy can only be established, by copious references. Notes are indispensable to its existence; they are the guarantees for its trust-worthiness; they are the only measure which the reader possesses of the credulity or discrimination of the writer. Without them

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he does not know whether he is depending on the assertions of a Dionysius or a Tacitus, and he may, for any thing he knows to the contrary, be reposing on the tales of the former that confidence which he perhaps would be willing to concede only to the philosophic narrative of the latter. The personal friends indeed of the historian may feel satisfied that he would advance nothing as matter of historic truth except what he had attentively examined and expressly believed; but what inference will all other persons draw from a history without note or reference? They will assuredly never rest their belief on its assertions; they will never receive its unsupported details as matter of strict and conclusive evidence."<sup>a</sup>

Of the style of this volume it would ill become its author to speak. It was his sole ambition to be correct and impartial:—his first object, to ascertain what was true; his second, to relate those truths in a plain and simple manner.

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<sup>a</sup> Vol. xxvii. p. 307.



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If an author, without being accused of overweening vanity, may be permitted to anticipate that his work will be attended by any particular result, the hope may be expressed that this account of the Battle of Agincourt will tend to remove the absurd impression that that victory must be contemplated with humiliating feelings in France. There is no truth with which the consideration of it has more deeply impressed him than that the bravery of the French character, its exalted patriotism, and chivalrous courage, instead of being tarnished, acquired new lustre on that memorable occasion. The French army was, it is true, almost annihilated by scarcely a tenth of its numbers; but that defeat was the result of a concatenation of circumstances, which left no just stain upon its military fame, beyond that of error in judgment on the part of its leaders.

Lest the author should be charged with eccentricity for the unusual manner in which this volume is paged, it is right to observe that it was produced by the



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total alteration in his plan, for, that which is now but little more than the addenda, was intended to form the body of the work. The border which, though suitable to a small tract, perhaps gives a fantastical appearance to a larger book, arose from the same cause.

This long Preface only requires to be lengthened by one paragraph—that in which the author has to fulfil the gratifying duty of expressing to many of his fellow, but more successful, labourers in historical and antiquarian pursuits, the gratitude with which he is impressed for their constant and most valuable assistance. Among those friends, John Gage of Lincoln's Inn, Esq. F. R. S. F. S. A.; Dr. Meyrick; Michael Jones, Esq. F. S. A.; Frederick Madden, Esq.; and Charles George Young, Esq. York Herald, F. S. A. are pre-eminent; and the studies by which they are respectively distinguished, render it unnecessary to specify the particular instances in which their talents have benefited the work. To his friend, Sir Thomas Elmsley Croft, Bart., he

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has also to offer his grateful acknowledgments for many essential kindnesses in facilitating his researches.

April 22<sup>nd</sup> 1837



THE  
**Battle of Agincourt.**

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ABOUT the middle of the year 1414, Henry the fifth, influenced by the persuasions of Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury; by the dying injunction of his royal father not to allow the kingdom to remain long at peace; or more probably by those feelings of ambition which were no less natural to his age and character, than consonant with the manners of the times in which he lived, resolved to assert that claim to the crown of France, which his great grandfather, King Edward the third, had urged with such confidence and success.

The first notice which is recorded of his intention was in July, 1414, when he demanded the French crown, as the heir of Isabella, wife of Edward the

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second,<sup>a</sup> and daughter of Philip the IVth. This claim the ministers of the French monarch refused even to discuss, and Henry consequently consented that Charles should continue in the possession of his throne; but he asked other concessions which it would have been impossible to grant without sacrifices on the part of France, that were totally inconsistent with its rank amongst the powers of Europe. He required that the provinces of Normandy, Maine, and Anjou, the territories which formerly composed the dutchy of Aquitaine, and one half of Provence should be ceded to England; that the arrears of the ransom of king John, who was taken at the battle of Poitiers, amounting to twelve hundred crowns, should be faithfully discharged; and that Charles should give

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<sup>a</sup> It is not necessary to comment upon the total want of justice in Edward the third's pretensions to the French crown; but, and as Dr Lingard, Vol. v. p. 9, has sensibly observed, Henry's claim was still more absurd, for at that time the Earl of March was the heir of Isabella.

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him his daughter Katherine<sup>a</sup> in marriage, with a portion of two millions of crowns. To these exorbitant terms, the duke de Berry, the organ of the French government, replied, that Charles was willing from the love of peace, to restore the dukedom of Aquitaine, and to give him the princess Katherine in marriage, with a dowry of six hundred thousand crowns; but he refused every other demand.<sup>b</sup> Henry being dissatisfied with these offers, recalled his Ambassadors, and issued writs, tested on the 26th September, commanding a Parliament to assemble at Westminster, on Monday after the octaves of St. Martin next following, that is, on the 18th of November.<sup>c</sup> The Lords and Commons met accordingly, when the King being seated on his throne in the painted

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<sup>a</sup> She was born on the 27th October, 1400, and was consequently at that period under fourteen years of age.

<sup>b</sup> *Fœdera*, Tome ix. f. 208, et. seq. *Laboreur*; *des Ursins*, *St. Remy*.

<sup>c</sup> Appendix I. and II. to the *Peerage Reports*, p. 824.



#### iv. . . . The Battle of Agincourt

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chamber of his palace of Westminster, Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, the chancellor, by command of his Majesty opened the Parliament by acquainting them that the king had determined to recover his inheritance, which had been long and unjustly detained from him and his progenitors, the kings of England; that for this honorable purpose many things were necessary; and taking for his theme, the words *dum tempus habemus operemur bonum*, pointed out with far more pedantry than eloquence; that for every natural thing there were two seasons; that like the tree there was a time to bud, a time to flower, and a time to bring forth fruit, and that it was then left to repose: so was there given to man a time for peace, and a time for war and labour; that the king considering the value of peace and tranquility, which, by the blessing of God, this kingdom then enjoyed, as was well felt, and also the justice of his pre-

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sent quarrel / which were the more necessary for every prince who has to encounter his enemies abroad, deemed that the proper time had arrived, in which, with the assistance of God, to accomplish his purpose; and thus, *dum habemus tempus operemur bonum*. But to attain this great and honorable object, three things he said, were wanted; namely, wise and faithful counsel from his vassals, strong and true support from his people, and a copious subsidy from his subjects, which every person would readily grant, because the more their princes' dominions were extended, the less would the charges of his subjects become; and these things being performed, great honor and glory would necessarily follow.<sup>a</sup>

The chancellor's address was not without effect; for the Commons, after electing Thomas Chaucer, the son of the poet, for their speaker, granted the king, for the honor of God, and for the great

<sup>a</sup> *Rot. Parl.* Vol. iv. p. 84.

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love and affection which they bore his Majesty, two entire fifteenths, and two entire tenths; not however, expressly, for the purposes for which it was asked, but for the defence of the kingdom of England and the safety of the seas.<sup>a</sup>

It is necessary in this place to observe, that the dauphin,<sup>b</sup> who was at that time between eighteen and nineteen years of age, is reported by some historians, in derision of Henry's claim, and as a satire upon his former dissolute character, to have sent him a box of tennis balls, and which statement is too familiar to be passed over, without an inquiry into its truth. Hume has justly remarked,<sup>c</sup> that the great offers made by the French court, however inferior to Henry's demands, satisfactorily prove that it was rather its disposition to

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<sup>a</sup> *Rot. Parl* Vol. iv. p. 35

<sup>b</sup> Louis, eldest son of Charles VI. He was born 22d January, 1396, and died before his father, and without issue, 18th December, 1415, in his twentieth year. *Anderson.*

<sup>c</sup> *Hist. of Engl.* Vol. iv. p. 96



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appease, than to exasperate his mind; and it is therefore almost incredible, that whilst the advisers of the French monarch evinced so much forbearance, the dauphin should have offered Henry such a personal insult. Still however, notwithstanding that neither the French historians, Walsingham, Titus Livius, nor the anonymous biographer of Henry, whose narrative will be so largely cited in the following pages, notice the circumstance, almost every other contemporary writer\* expressly al-

\* *Otterbourne, Elmham*, and those quoted in the text. The last-mentioned writer speaks of the circumstance in the following manner in his life of Henry V. in latin verse, written on vellum, and preserved among the Cottonian MSS. marked *Julius E. iv. f. 94<sup>b</sup>*; but he is silent on the subject in his prose history, printed by Hearne.

"*Qd. filius Regis Francor' in derisum misit dn'o Regi pilas quib' valeret cu' pueris ludere potius q'm pugnare et de responso d'm Regis n'ri.*

*Dalpinus Regis Francorum filius illi  
Karolus astripsit verba jocosa nimis  
Parisius quia pilas misit quib' ille valeret  
Ludere cum pueris ut sua cura fuit  
Rex sibi sponte pilas rescripsit londoniarum  
Per breve missurū quis sua tecta terat  
Ludi ferre lucrum tellure fugas positurum  
Francor' regno spondet et ip'e manu."*

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ludes to it; and many succeeding chroniclers\* have followed their assertions. In an inedited MS.<sup>b</sup> in the British Museum, entitled, "The Chronicle of King Henry the V. that was kyng henries son," and apparently written at the period, the transaction is thus related:—

"And his lordis yafe hym counsell, to send embassatours unto the Kyng of fraunce and his counsell, and y<sup>e</sup> he shuld give up to hym his ryght herytage, that is to say Normandie, Gascoyne, and Guyhenne, the which his predecessours hadden hold afore hym, or elles he wold it wyn wyth dynt of sword, in short tyme, with the helpe of Almyghty Good And than the dolphine of Fraunce answered to our embassatours, and said in this maner [manner] that the kyng was over yong and to tender of age, to make any warre ayens hym, and was not lyke yet to be noo good werrioure to doo and to make suche a conquest there upon hym; and somewhat in seorne and dispite he sente to hym a tonne full of tenys ballis because he wolde have somewhat for to play w<sup>th</sup> all for hym and for hys lordis, and that became hym better than to mayntain

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*Otterbourne's* expression is,

"Eodem anno, [1414] in quadragesima, rege existente apud Kenilworth, Karolus, regis Francorum filius, Dalphinus vocatus, misit pilas Parisianis ad ludendum cum pueris. Cui rex Anglorum rescripsit, dicens, se in brevi pilas missurum Londoniarum quibus terreret et confunderet sua tecta." p. 274-5.

\* Caxton, Hall, Hollingshed, Baker, &c.

<sup>b</sup> Cottonian MSS. *Claudius A viii.*

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any Were: and thus anon our lordes that was embassadours taken hir leye and comen into Englaund ayenne, and tolde the Kyng and his counceill of the ungoodly answer that they had of the Dolphyn, and of the present the which he had sent unto the Kyng: and whan y<sup>e</sup> Kyng had hard her wordis, and the answer of the Dolpynne, he was wondre sore agreved, and right evell apayd towarde the frensshmen, and toward the Kyng and the Dolphynne, and thought to avenge hym upon hem as sone as Good wold send hym grace and myght, and anon lette make tenys ballis for the Dolpynne, in all the hast that they myght be made; and they were grete gonne atones for the Dolpynne to play wyth all."

In a poem,<sup>a</sup> in MS. in the same library, which has been attributed to Lydgate, who lived during the reigns of

<sup>a</sup> Harl. MSS. 565, f. 102, 103. Hearne, at the end of his edition of *Elmhurst's Life of Henry V.* has printed a long extract, describing the battle of Agincourt, from a Poem so very similar to the one here cited, that it is almost certain that it was another copy of the same, and which he states to have been taken from the Cottonian MS. Vitellus, D. xii.; a volume which is not now extant. It is evident from collating the extract in question with the copy in Harl. MSS. 565, that although there were several different readings, still that many words are erroneously given by Hearne. Between each verse of the copy in the Barleian collection, these lines occur in red ink:—

"Wot ye right well y<sup>e</sup> yns it was,  
Gloria tibi Trinitas."

but which are not noticed by Hearne; nor was it thought advisable to preserve them in the extracts which are made from the poem in this work.

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Henry the fifth and Henry the sixth, the same account is given :

"And yanne answerde y<sup>e</sup> Dolfyn bold,  
To oure Bassatours sone a zeyn,  
Me thinke zoure Kyng he is nought old,  
No werrys for to maynteyn,  
Grete well zoure kyng he seyde, so yonge,  
That is bothe gentill and small,  
A tonne of tenys ballys I shall hym sende,  
For to pleye hym with all.

A dien sire seide oure lordis alle,  
For there they wolde no long lende,  
They token there leve bothe grete and smalle,  
And hom to Ingelond they gon wende,  
And thanne they sette the tale on ende,  
All that y<sup>e</sup> Dolfyn to them gum saye,  
I schal hym thanke, thanne seyde our kyng,  
By the grace of God if that I may.

The Kyng of Fraunce that is so old,  
On to oure Kyng he sent on hy,  
And prayde thews that he wold hold,  
For the love of Seynt Mary :  
Oure Cherlys of Fraunce gret well oz ze wende,  
The Dolfyn prowed with inne his wall,  
Wyche tenys ballys y schal hym sende,  
As schall tere the Roof all of his all."

It is, then, manifest that several contemporary writers expressly affirm

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that the dauphin sent Henry the contemptuous present, which has been imputed to him; and some caution is therefore necessary in refusing it credence, because some of the writers of the time do not speak of it, or because it was highly improbable. No proof of the circumstance can now be adduced, and the statement therefore remains among those innumerable points of history, upon which every individual must form his own conclusions; but although it is here left without any decided opinion being expressed upon its authenticity, it should be observed, as additional grounds for doubting that the message or gift was ever sent by the dauphin, that such an insult must have at once convinced both parties of the hopelessness of a pacific arrangement afterwards; and would, it may be fairly supposed, have equally prevented the French court and Henry from seeking any other means of ending the dispute than by the sword. This,



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however, was far from the case, for even supposing that the offensive communication was made on the occasion of the *last*, instead, and which it would appear from the preceding extracts was the case, on that of the *first* embassy, it is certain that overtures were again sent to Henry whilst he was on his journey to the place of embarkation; and that even when there he wrote to the French monarch, with the object of adjusting his claims without a recourse to arms.<sup>a</sup> Nor is this all, for had the dauphin given Henry such cause for personal hatred, he would in all probability have alluded to it in the letter by which he challenged him to decide his claim by single combat.<sup>a</sup> It is true, that the circumstance of Henry's offering to meet his enemy in that manner, affords some support to the statement that he was influenced by those personal feelings of revenge to which the dauphin's conduct would undoubtedly

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<sup>a</sup> These letters will be found in a subsequent page.

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have given birth; but it may be asked whether, if the chief motive of that challenge was the present of the tennis balls, some allusion to it would not have found a place in its contents; or whether the specious pretext of merely wishing to save the effusion of human blood, would not have been superseded by the manly, and when Henry's chivalrous character is considered, natural expression of proud defiance for the wound which he had attempted to inflict upon his honor and his fame?

As the subsisting armistice between England and France, would have terminated early in January, 1415, the earl of Dorset,<sup>a</sup> with the bishops of Durham<sup>b</sup> and Norwich,<sup>c</sup> were sent to Paris, attended by a splendid retinue of six hundred horsemen, to endeavour to

<sup>a</sup> Thomas Beaufort, afterwards Duke of Exeter, son of John of Gaunt, by Katherine Swinford, and consequently uncle to Henry the fifth.

<sup>b</sup> Cardinal Langley

<sup>c</sup> Richard Courtenay he died at the Siege of Harfleur, 14 September, 1415. *Vide Infra.*

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prolong the truce until the 1st of May following; which being easily accomplished, they proposed a treaty of peace upon new terms. The claim to Normandy, Maine, and Anjou, was given up, and they consented to accept the princess Katherine with half the dowry formerly asked; but every other demand was repeated.

The answer to these terms was dated on the 14th of March, when it was proposed that the dowry of Katherine should be increased from six to eight hundred thousand crowns, besides her wardrobe, and the equipage proper for her rank; that the same territories should be ceded to England, which had before been offered; and that with respect to all the other points in dispute, a solemn embassy should be sent to Henry to treat of them, or, to use the words of the document itself, "to speak more fully of the said appeal of right,"\* and of the

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\* "Voye de Justice."



## The Battle of Agincourt.....xv

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alliance and marriage, and do other notable and especial things, touching the good and attainment of the said matters.”

During this negociation, nothing appears in the *Fœdera* indicative of Henry's expectation that it would not terminate pacifically, excepting a commission, dated on the 8th of March, to Richard Clyderow and Simon Flete, Esquires, authorizing them to treat with Holland for ships for his service in the following May;<sup>b</sup> nor is any transaction noticed therein, relating to an invasion of France, until the 16th of April. On the 7th of that month we are informed by a French historian,<sup>c</sup> that Henry addressed the King of France on the subject of his claims, and in reference to the embassy which he had signified his intention of sending to discuss them. This letter, as well as another dated on the 15th of April, is extremely curious;

<sup>a</sup> *Fœdera*, Tome ix. p. 214

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.* p. 215.

<sup>c</sup> *Laboureur*, Tome ii. p. 993, 995.

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and as they are not noticed by Rymer, and but very slightly by our own historians, literal translations of both are here inserted.

"TO THE MOST SERENE PRINCE, CHARLES, BY THE GRACE OF GOD OUR VERY DEAR COUSIN OF FRANCE, HENRY, BY THE SAME GRACE OF GOD KING OF ENGLAND AND OF FRANCE, HEALTH AND PEACE TO BE OBSERVED IN OUR DAYS.

"Most Serene Prince and very dear cousin, our glory is the witness of our conscience" that we have endeavoured from our accession to our crown, by the ardent passion that we have had for the love of him who is the author of peace, to reconcile the difference between us and our people; to chase and banish for ever that sad division, mother of so many misfortunes, cause of the misery of so many men, and of the loss of so many souls which have been shipwrecked in the slaughter of war. We have sent to you many times, and again very lately we dispatched with that happy object our ambassadors, who shall have declared on our part to your Serenity, that our intention is to propose to you two things; the first is to do justice to us of the rights to us, and to our crown belonging for so long a time, that we could say that it is entire ages that we have been deprived of them. The other concerns our marriage with our dear cousin Katherine, your daughter, for which all that is wanting is her consent and yours. The said ambassadors, after the re-

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• "Nostre gloire est le temoignage de nostre conscience."

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quisite declarations in an affair of this importance, have made divers propositions to you, and for conclusion they have given up the articles of which we assure you,\* and to which Heaven is our witness, that we would not by any means have listened, if the service of God, and the advantage of peace were not dearer, and of more consideration than our private interest. It is true that the Lords of our Kingdom of England, without whose advice we do not determine upon important affairs, favour under hand<sup>b</sup> our intentions in this matter, but in conscience there is not one among them who is satisfied with so little.<sup>c</sup> We have seen by writing sealed with your seal, the answer which you have given to these demands, and our ambassadors having moreover assured us, we know thereby that you have granted nothing beyond the two principal objects of their mission, because they had not full power to treat. But as your Serenity informed us, that you should dispatch a solemn embassy to treat with us<sup>d</sup> upon these two points, and of the circumstances attendant thereon, we were surprised that the term is expired without our having any news of their voyage, or even of the names of those whom you intend for that negotiation. And the time of the truce being nearly at an end, we shall be truly obliged by the disposition which it is our duty to maintain, and for the welfare of our people, to follow their in-

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<sup>a</sup> "dont nous vous asseurons."

<sup>b</sup> "favorisent nous main."

<sup>c</sup> "se contenter de si peu."

<sup>d</sup> "mais comme votre Serenité nous mande qu'elle nous doit sur ce despocher à convenir," &c. The word *nous* is evidently misprinted in one place for *vous*: in the translation the sense of the passage is inferred from the context.

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terests, and to acquit ourselves of the oath by which we are bound. It is then for your Serenity to endeavour seriously to complete the treaty which is begun, and we pray you with that object speedily to send your deputies so that we do not uselessly lose the time which they have taken<sup>a</sup> for so great a good, upon which depends the happiness and general felicity of the two crowns. We assure you for ourselves, that we desire nothing with more zeal, than that peace; to which we shall contribute so warmly, that we protest before God and all men, that we prefer on this occasion the public advantage, to that by which we are personally affected, and also that our heart is so opposed to the cruelties of war, and has so much horror of the effusion of christian blood, that it only depends upon you that we establish a good and perpetual peace between us and our successors, to the honor and praise of him who has chosen us for the government of two such great states, and to whom we shall have to render an account of their conduct, that we increase their prosperity by peace; and above all, God forbid that they should ever be disunited. Do not let us be the imitators of the shepherds of Lot and Abraham, between whom avarice excited discord. Render us a justice proportionate to the loss which we suffer, and do not allow either of us to be borne away by the passion of dominion, or by the evil counsels of minds enemies to peace. We shall have to answer before God for that which we retain by force of the property of another, and more particularly the prevention of this peace. The thoughts and means which he has given us, are marks of a grace which we ought not to abuse, and if we neglect to render ourselves worthy we shall become amenable to his justice for having resisted the inspira-

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<sup>a</sup> "qu' on a pris."

## The Battle of Agincourt.....xix

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tions with which he has endued us, for the purpose of establishing the tranquillity of the people under our government. Given under our Signet, at our Palace of Westminster, the 7th of the month of April."

"TO THE MOST SERENE PRINCE, CHARLES, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, OUR VERY DEAR COUSIN OF FRANCE, HENRY, BY THE SAME GRACE, KING OF ENGLAND AND OF FRANCE, HEALTH AND TO DIRECT OUR FEET IN THE WAY OF PEACE.

"Most Serene Prince, our very dear cousin, we have seen the letters from the very illustrious prince, your very dear uncle, the Duke of Berry, by which we have perceived, that you intend soon to dispatch to us a solemn embassy on your part for the benefit of peace, of which we pray God to give us a happy conclusion for his glory. We have also seen the copy of the safe conduct which you desired for the ambassadors, specified with their names, and the term for which you wish the prolongation of the pass-ports, and we are sufficiently content with the number of persons. As for the period, we have shortened it, not believing that so many days were required; but if on their arrival they bring us good news, if they proceed frankly, and if we find their intention right, and their powers sufficiently ample upon the two principles of justice which we have asked, and of the alliance which we have proposed, we will extend it as far as shall be necessary. This abridgement of useless days, should not make your Serenity believe that we are therefore the less disposed to the conclusion of peace: so far from that being our intention, we have done it to prevent that delay, (enemy of such affair) may not retard it, nor cool our desires for so great a benefit. We passionately wish it, but



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if it cannot be attained, we should be sorry to have uselessly consumed the time which would assist the prosecution of our right. We appeal to the tribunal of divine justice, where we shall both have to appear to render a most exact account of our conduct on the subject of this pacific overture, that the blindness of avarice, that glory, that vanity, or the pretext of wordly honors, and that the vain desire to reign can in nothing divert us from our good intentions.

"We shall propose nothing to you, which we have not a right conscientiously to demand; and we advise you, most Serene Prince, with all sincerity and by a pure love, to entertain those happy thoughts of peace which you have always observed from your most tender youth, and not to neglect or abandon them in so mature and so advanced an age." Reflect upon the years which you have passed; think of eternity, in which they must terminate, and bear in memory the noble actions and the triumphs which ancient ages have seen arise from the union of the kingdoms of England and France, as also the massacre and slaughter which their divisions have caused, and how much they have shed of christian blood, which cost such sufferings to JESUS CHRIST for its redemption. If the prophet of the prophets, the great Jeremiah, lived to day, what tears would he shed on the torrents of blood which have inundated so many plains, after having so wept over the miserable state of a single city! and what would he not say of the misfortune

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\* This expression is not a little singular, for at that time Charles the Sixth was but a few months more than forty-six years old, he having been born on the 3rd December, 1368—a period of life which does not appear to justify so serious an admonition respecting eternity. Lydgate also speaks of the French monarch as being then "so old." See p. xiv.

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of so cruel an hostility between two crowns! It is this which obliges me to chose a favourable time, it is this which constrains me to knock with importunity at the door of your conscience to invite you to peace. It is a long time that I have knocked, and that you have deferred to open it to me; and in the mean time the quarrel increaaes, and they form pernicious designs of invasion, who support schism in the church, and who foment the crimes of this world. The Pope even has made a divorce from the universal church, he whom they hoped would redeem it, and re-establish Israel, and so many years of possession have rather induced them to resist the union than to submit to it. This Holy Sion, formerly without rust and without spot, has lost all hope of regaining her ancient liberty, if the Princes do not join together to deliver her from the yoke of her bondage. Let us not therefore obstinately persist in encroaching one upon another, nor allow ourselves to be prompted by imaginary pretexts of honor to debate upon titles and pretensions, so much more condemnable in their vanity, because they serve as obstacles to the most praiseworthy designs. Rather let us undertake, for the glory of God, to assist our desolate mother, which has regenerated us in the light; let us render truth triumphant over force and violence, let us govern and judge by our conscience, and do for the church that which she would do for us, if she were free from her oppression.

Given under our signet in our Palace of Westminster, the 15th of the month of April."

To the first of these letters Charles is said to have replied on the 16th of April, and to the last, on the 26th of

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that month; it is therefore evident that Henry did not wait for the answer to the first, before the second was written.<sup>a</sup> Upon the authenticity of these singular documents, which are likewise referred to by another contemporary,<sup>c</sup> but little is to be said. The writer to whom we are indebted for them, does not state, from whence they were taken; hence excepting the fact, that if they were actually despatched, the originals would of course be in France, and the great probability that Mons<sup>r</sup> Le Laboureur had access to archives in which it is likely they would be preserved, the only evidence on the subject is that which arises from internal proof; and which seems so strong as to amount nearly to conviction. Assuming then,

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<sup>a</sup> *Laboureur* states that both these letters were sent by Dorset Herald, which can scarcely be true, unless we suppose that he could have conveyed the first to the French monarch, and returned to London in eight days—a celerity of travelling not very probable at that period.

<sup>b</sup> *Des Ursins*, p. 288.



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that they are genuine, a few observations will be submitted upon their contents. Their most important features are falsehood, hypocrisy, and impiety; for could any thing be farther from truth, than Henry's solemn assurance that he was not actuated by his own ambition, but by the wishes of his subjects, when it is on record, that upon the very day after the Chancellor solicited supplies for the invasion of France, the Commons expressly stated that they granted them for the defence of the realm, and the safety of the seas?<sup>a</sup> What, it should be inquired, was the *justice* that was claimed? That France should be dismembered of territories, which, though it is true that they once belonged to England, had nevertheless been wrenched from France by the sword, and which by the same weapon she had regained; and that with the hand of the princess Katherine, Henry

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<sup>a</sup> See p. vi.

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should receive as her dowry, a sum as unprecedented as it was exorbitant! But this was not all, for it cannot be forgotten, that his first demand was the crown of France itself, and that it was not until he was convinced of the absurdity of such a pretension, that he required the concession of those points to which his letters refer. If then there was falsehood in his assertion, that his demands were dictated by the wishes of his people, rather than by his own, there was hypocrisy in the assurances of his moderation and love of peace; and still more impiety in calling upon the Almighty and upon Heaven to witness the sincerity of his protestations, and in profaning the holy writings, by citing them on such an occasion. These letters, which it is most probable were dictated by Cardinal Beaufort, are nevertheless worthy of consideration, not only from the total want of moral feeling which they exhibit, but from the style

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in which they are written. In some places they approach almost to eloquence, and they are throughout, clear, nervous, and impressive.

It is unquestionable that Henry did not anticipate that the embassy which, in his first letter he complains had not arrived, and for which in the second he says he had granted passports, would be attended with success. Nor can it for one moment be supposed that his inclinations were opposed to his expectations; for on Tuesday, the 16th of April, the day immediately succeeding the date of his second letter to Charles, he held a great council at Westminster, at which, pursuant to writs commanding them to attend there in the quindesme of Easter, the dukes of Clarence, Bedford, Gloucester, and York, nine earls, ten bishops, five abbots, the prior of the Hospital, and fifteen barons, were present.<sup>a</sup> After Henry

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<sup>a</sup> The Earls of March, Huntingdon, Arundel, the Earl Marshal, Dorset, Salisbury, Oxford, Westmoreland, Suffolk;

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vided for the safety of the Realm during his absence and settled the rate of wages of his Army, every possible exertion was used to raise the requisite number of soldiers, and to provide the necessary *matériel* for the expedition. Copies of a great many contracts, between the King and such persons as were bound to provide a stated number of Men at Arms and Archers, and with different persons to procure carpenters, masons, waggons, bows, arrows, &c. are given in the *Fœdera*.

Of these, each of which will be again alluded to, the most interesting are the agreements with the crown for the payment of the retainers; and between the lord and his vassal for their equipment and reward in the voyage. As these documents afford very valuable information on the military arrangements of the age, and form an important feature in the history of Henry's expedition, translations of two of them are inserted.

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### INDENTURE OF THOMAS TUNSTALL.

[Translated from the French.

*Fœdera*, Tome ix. p. 233.]

“THIS Indenture, made between the King our Sovereign Lord of the one part, and Monsieur Thomas Tunstall of the other part; Witnesseth that the said Thomas is bound to our said Lord the King, to serve him for a whole year in a voyage which the same our Lord the King in his own person will make, if it pleaseth God, in his Dutchy of Guienne, or in his kingdom of France: commencing the said year, the day of the muster of the people of his retinue, at the place which shall be appointed by our said Lord the King, within the month of May next coming, if he shall be then ready to make the said muster. And that the said Thomas, shall have with him in the said voyage for the whole year six men at arms, himself counted, and eighteen horse archers; the said Thomas taking for wages for himself two shillings a day. And if in the company of our Lord the King, the said Thomas shall go to the said Dutchy of Guienne, he shall take for the wages of each of the said men at arms forty marks, and for each of the said archers twenty marks, for the said whole year. And in case that in company of our said Lord the King, the aforesaid Thomas goes to the aforesaid kingdom of France, he shall take for the wages of each of the said men at arms twelve pence, and for each of the said archers six pence a day, during the year above said. And in case of the said voyage to France, the said Thomas, shall take reward usual for him and his said men at arms, at the rate of one hundred marks for thirty men at arms the quarter. Of the which reward for the said parts of Guyenne shall be paid to the said Thomas, for the performance of this Indenture, for half the first quarter; and



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for the other half, when he shall have made the said muster ready to go to the said parts of Guienne, if our said Lord the King shall go there, or shall send him there. And in case it happens that after the said muster our said Lord the King, shall not go to his said Duchy of Guienne, but shall go to the parts of France, then the said Thomas shall be paid so much as shall be owing to him for the said first quarter, besides the sum received by him as above, for the wages and reward, as well for himself as for the above said men at arms and archers; so passing to the said parts of France. And for surety of payment for the second quarter, our said Lord the King will cause to be delivered to the said Thomas, in pledge, the first day of June next coming, Jewels, which by agreement with the said Thomas, shall be fully worth the sum to which the said wages, or wages with reward, for that quarter shall amount. The which jewels shall be the same that the said Thomas is bound to return to our said Lord the King, the hour that he can redeem them\* within a year and half and one month next after the receipt of the same jewels. And also that it shall be lawful for the said Thomas and for all others whatsoever, to whom the said jewels shall be delivered by the said Thomas, after the end of the said month, to dispose of the said jewels at their pleasure, without impeachment of the King or of his heirs, according to the contents of the Letters Patent, under the Great Seal of the King granted to the aforesaid Thomas in this case. And for the third quarter, the said Thomas shall be paid for him and his said retinue, within six months after the commencement of the same third quarter, according to the quantity of wages, or wages with reward, for the country to which they have gone, or shall be, during the said quarter. And respecting the payment of the wages,

\* "à quelle heure qu'il les ouilles quitter."

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or wages with reward, as the case shall be for the last quarter of the year above said, if for the moiety of the said third quarter, the King, our said Lord, shall not give such security for the payment to the said Thomas as he shall reasonably demand, then at the expiration of the third quarter, the said Thomas shall be acquitted and discharged towards our said Lord the King of the covenants specified in this present Indenture. And the said Thomas shall be bound to be ready at the sea, with his said people well mounted, armed, and equipped, suitably to their condition, for his muster on the first day of July next coming: and from the time of their arrival at the place above said, the said Thomas shall make muster of his people before such person or persons as it may please our said Lord the King to assign, as often as he shall reasonably require. And the said Thomas shall have as usual from our said Lord, shipping for him, and his retinue, their horses, harness, and provisions, and also re-shipping, as others of his condition shall have in the said voyage. And if it shall happen that, on the part of our said Lord the King, the said Thomas before his passage of the sea be countermanded, he shall be bound for the said sum to serve the same our Lord the King, in such parts as shall please him with the aforesaid men at arms and archers, according to the rate of wages accustomed in the parts where they shall be ordered by the command of our said Lord the King, except those that may die, if any shall die in the mean time. And if it shall happen that the "Adversary of France," or any of his sons, nephews, uncles, cousin-germans, that may be, or any King of that kingdom, or Lieutenant, or other chieftains having command from the said "Adversary of France," shall be taken in the said voyage by the said Thomas, or any of his said retinue, our said Lord the King shall have

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the said "Adversary," or other person of the rank above said, who shall be so taken, and shall make reasonable agreement with the said Thomas, or to those whom he may be taken. And respecting other profits of "Gaignes de Guerres,"\* our said Lord the King shall have as well the third part of the "Gaignes" of the said Thomas as the third of the third part of the profit of the people of his retinue in the said voyage taken, as the "Gaignes" of the prisoners, booty, money, all gold, silver and jewels, exceeding the value of ten marks.

"In Witness of which things on the part of this Indenture relating to our said Lord the King, the aforesaid Thomas has put his Seal. Done at Westminster, the xxix day of April, the year of the reign of our said Lord the King, the third.

*Sigillo Avulso.*

*Eodem modo mutatis mutantis  
hunc Indenturæ cum*

GILBERTO UMFREVILL. ROBERTO DE STANLEY.  
THOMA STRIKLAND."

"INDENTURE BETWEEN THE EARL OF SALISBURY,  
AND  
WILLIAM Bedyk, ONE OF HIS RETINUE.

[Translated from the French,  
*Fœdera*, tome ix. p. 258.]

"THIS Indenture made at London, the first day of June, in the third year of the reign of King Henry the Fifth, after the conquest, between Thomas, Earl of Salisbury,

\* This expression scarcely admits of a translation. It means the advantages which might arise from the chances of war, whether from pillage, ransom, or in any other manner



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on the one part, and William Bedyk, of the other part: Witnesseth, that the said William is bound to the said Earl, to serve him for a whole year in a voyage, which our Lord the King proposes to make in his own person if it pleases God. And that the said William, in the said voyage, shall have from the said Earl, for the said whole year for himself, for the parts of Guienne, forty marks. And for two archers with him, that is to say, for each archer yearly twenty marks, according to the time that the said William and his said archers shall be in the service of the said Earl, in the parts aforesaid. And if it should happen that our Lord the King shall take him to his realm of France, then the said William shall receive from the said Earl for himself twelve pence a day, and for each of the said archers six pence a day. And that the said William shall be paid for the performance of this Indenture, for half the first quarter in advance; and for the three other quarters, the said William shall be paid by the said Earl for himself and his said archers from quarter to quarter, in the same manner as our said Lord the King does to the said Earl for people of his condition.

"And it is agreed that the said William shall be ready at the sea with his said archers well mounted, armed, and equipped, suitably to their condition, to make there his muster the first day of July next coming. And that the said William shall have "*Bouche de Courte*,"\* for him and

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\* *Bouche of Court*, vulgarly *Budge of Court*, according to Blount, is to have meat and drink sent free; for so he says is the French *Avoir Bouche a la Cour*, to be in ordinary at Court. Sometimes it extended only to bread, beer and wine. This was anciently in use, as well in the houses of Noblemen, as in the King's Court, as appears by an Indenture, which he cites, dated 29 March, 6 Ric. II 1383. Bishop Kennett explains *Bouche of Court*, to be an allowance of diet or belly provisions from the

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one Valette, on both sides the sea at all times. And if the said William, or any of his [retinue] take any prisoner by fortune of war, the said Earl shall have the third part of his ransom; and also of all other advantages whatever, which may arise in the war, during the time above said, placing the said prisoner at such ransom as the said Earl, William, and Prisoner may agree. And that the said William shall keep watch and ward at all times, that he shall be required by the said Earl or his Lieutenant. And that the said Earl shall provide proper shipping for him, his archers, and horses, going and returning. And in case that our said Lord the King does not go into any of the parts aforesaid, but that the said Earl be countermanded by our Lord the King, or that the King return within the said time, or if the said William dies after such commands he received within the said time, so that the said William cannot perform the covenants aforesaid, that then the said William be obliged, his heirs, executors, and assigns, and each of them by these [presents] to repay to the said Earl, his heirs, executors, or assigns, immediately, the aforesaid gold and silver so received without delay. Provided always that the said William have allowance for his wages, for him and his said archers for the time that he is in the said service of the said Earl. In witness of which things on the part of this Indenture that relate to the said William, the said Earl has placed his Seal. And on the other part relating to the said Earl, the said William has put his Seal." Indorsed, "The said William had received, ac-

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King, or superior Lord to their Knights, Esquires, and other retinue that attended them in any military expedition. Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, retained Sir John de Evre, to serve him with ten men at arms in time of war, allowing them *Bowys of Court*, with livery of hay and oats for their horses.

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according to the wages of Guienne, for half Quarter, *£vi.*  
*xiii iv.*"

Some time before, measures were taken to secure a sufficient quantity of shipping from Holland;\* for besides the commission issued to Richard Clyderow and Simon Flete, Esquires, on the 8th March, which has been already mentioned, Richard Clydow and Reginald Curteys, were ordered on the 4th of April, to go to Holland and Zealand to treat with the masters and owners of ships there, for the King's service, which were to be sent to the ports of London, Sandwich, or Winchelsea;<sup>b</sup> and on the 11th of that month, Nicholas Maudyt, serjeant at arms, was commanded to arrest all ships carrying twenty tons or more, as well belonging to this kingdom as to other countries which were then in the river Thames, or in other sea ports of the realm, as far as Newcastle upon Tyne, or which might arrive there before

\* *St Remy*, p. 79.

<sup>b</sup> *Fosdara*, tome ix. p. 216.

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the 1st of May; and the said vessels were to be at the ports of Southampton, London, or Winchelsea, by that day at the latest.<sup>a</sup>

Commands were also issued, dated on the 3rd May, to John Kingeston, master of the ship called the Katherine of the Tower; to William Robinson, master of the Nicolas of the Tower; to Stephen Thomas, of the Trinity Royal;<sup>b</sup> to John Piers of the Little Trinity of the Tower; and to William Richeman, of the Gabriel of the Tower; and dated on the 4th June, to John Huterel of the Little Mary of the Tower; and to Henry Pitman, on the 2nd January, of the Rude Coq of the Tower, to arrest the necessary sailors to navigate these ships in the expedition.<sup>c</sup> Writs were directed,

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<sup>a</sup> *Fadera*, tome ix. p. 218.

<sup>b</sup> It was apparently this ship that conveyed Henry to France. *Vide Infra*.

<sup>c</sup> *Fadera*, tome ix. p. 238. The exact words of these writs are here given, because they evince that the right of impressment of seamen, about the unconstitutional power of which so much has been said, not only existed in full force in the reign

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tested on the 20th April, to Nicholas Frost, bowyer, to provide bows and bow-staves from the royal lands<sup>a</sup> or elsewhere, excepting from the property of the church; to Robert Hunt, serjeant of the waggons of the household, dated on the 16th May, to provide a sufficient quantity of carts and waggons for the present voyage, and also carpenters, smiths, wood, and iron, to construct the said waggons, and likewise the necessary horses for the same.<sup>b</sup> To Stephen Fer-

of Henry the fifth, but that it was merely a branch of the royal prerogative, which authorized the crown to levy in the same manner any other subject or article, necessary for its service, the tenor of all the other writs noticed in the text being nearly the same

“Scias quod assignavimus te ad tot marinarios, pro gubernatione navis prædictæ, quot necessarij fuerint tam infra libertates, quàm extra, pro denariis nostris, in hac parte rationabiliter solvendis, per te et sufficientes deputatos tuos *Arrestandum et Capiendum* eos, nobis in obsequio nostro deservituros ponendum: et ided tibi præcipimus quod circa præmissa diligenter intendas, ac ea facias et exequaris in forma prædictâ. Damus autem universis et singulis Vicecomitibus, Majoribus, &c. tenore præsentium, firmiter in mandatis quod tibi et deputatis tuis prædictis in executione præmissorum intendentes sint consulentes et auxiliantes prout decet.”

\* In the original *Vadia*, but the usual translation of this word would not agree with the context.

<sup>b</sup> *Fœdera*, tome ix. p. 249.



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rour, serjeant of the king's farriers, dated the 25th May, to provide iron and horse shoes, for shoeing the horses of the royal stables in the voyage, and also smiths and iron, and all other things necessary for farriers, together with proper conveyance for the same.<sup>a</sup> To Simon Lewys and John Benet, the king's masons, dated on the 6th June, to provide one hundred of the best and most able masons for the expedition:<sup>b</sup> to John Southemed, "fare carter,"<sup>c</sup> dated on the day last mentioned, to provide sixty two-wheeled carts with collars, harness, halters, "pipes de corio," and all other articles requisite for carts, by the 17th of June at the farthest. To Thomas Mathew and William Gill, also tested on the 6th of June, to provide one hundred and twenty carpenters and turners;<sup>d</sup> and to William Mersh, and Nicholas Thokynghon, smiths, on the same day, to pro-

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<sup>a</sup> *Fœdera*, tome ix. p. 250.

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.* p. 260.

<sup>c</sup> *Fare carter* was apparently a Cart Wright. <sup>d</sup> *Ibid.*



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vide forty smiths.<sup>a</sup> All these persons and things were to be procured in the counties of Sussex, Surrey, Kent, Essex, Herts, Bucks, and Middlesex, or the city of London; and the civil authorities were commanded to afford every possible assistance in raising them.

That the kingdom might not be left without defence during Henry's absence, he issued orders on the 8th May, to the archbishop of Canterbury and other bishops, to array the clergy for the defence of the realm; and commands to a similar purpose were given on the 29th of that month, to some of the principal knights and esquires of each county, to take a review of all the freemen capable of bearing arms, to divide them into companies, and to keep them in readiness for resisting an enemy.<sup>b</sup> This regulation must not be noticed without adding, that it has been said to be the first commission of array ever issued,

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<sup>a</sup> *Foedera*, tome ix. p. 261.

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.* p. 257.

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and that "this was the æra when the feudal militia in England gave place to one which was perhaps still less orderly and regular;"<sup>a</sup> but a judicious historian of the present day has shewn, that such commissions were usual in every reign since that of Henry the second.<sup>b</sup> Among the contracts for the expedition, those with the king's physician, his surgeon, and his minstrels, are particularly deserving of attention, and extracts from them will be found in another part of this work.<sup>c</sup> Letters of protection were granted to about twenty-five individuals, dated on the 17th May, on account of their engagement to attend the king:<sup>d</sup> these, in which were included persons of various ranks in life, were probably given to exempt them from civil process.<sup>d</sup>

The supply granted by parliament

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<sup>a</sup> *Hume*, vol. iii. p. 119.

<sup>b</sup> *Lingard*, 8vo. edit. vol. v. p. 76.

<sup>c</sup> P. 97, and 101.

<sup>d</sup> *Fœdera*, tome ix. p. 249.

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in the preceding November, being insufficient to defray the heavy expences attendant on advancing to each person in the army a quarter's wages, to which by their agreements they were entitled, Henry issued a proclamation, addressed to his "very dear and loyal, and well-beloved subjects," dated at Reading on the 10th of May, informing them that he had set out upon his expedition in his own person; that the Lords and others of his retinue had been paid a quarters wages, but that he had promised to pay them another quarter's at the time of their embarkation, which was near at hand; that the money granted by his subjects was not sufficient to pay the said quarter's wages at the time he had promised; and that if the same was not paid, the voyage would not only be retarded, but the first payment would be lost, to the great injury of him and his kingdom; and he therefore

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<sup>a</sup> "tres chiers et foialaulz et bien amez."

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entreated them, as they regarded the success of the expedition, and his welfare, that they would grant him such sums, as his dear and faithful knights, John Pelham and William Esturmy, the bearers of that address, would point out; that they were to send the money by one of their own people, in whom they had confidence; and that security for the repayment should be given, as<sup>a</sup> with the grace of God, would content them.<sup>b</sup> This application was attended with some success, for there is proof that the following, besides other sums, were advanced in consequence:<sup>c</sup>

By the inhabitants of Canterbury. . . . .	100 marks.
By the inhabitants of Sudbury. . . . .	£26. 1. 34
By the inhabitants of Bristol. . . . .	£240
By the Bishop of Hereford . . . . .	£100
By the Bishop of Lincoln. . . . .	£40
By Paul de Milan, merchant of Lucca . . . .	100 marks.

The king's appeal to the generosity of his subjects, did not produce sufficient

<sup>a</sup> "que vous tiendrez pour content à la grace de Dieu."

<sup>b</sup> *Fœdera*, tome ix p 241.

<sup>c</sup> *Ibid.* p. 268, 269, and 271.

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money for his purpose; hence, besides mortgaging the receipts of certain customs,\* and some of the crown jewels for the repayment of the loans he had obtained, great part of the said jewels, with a quantity of plate, were pawned to his soldiers as security for their wages. Of these deposits, most minute information has been preserved; and the following abstracts of them are introduced, from their exhibiting a curious picture of the times, as well as an interesting description of the jewels and plate then used, together with their weight and value. These contracts tend to impress us with a contemptible opinion of the crown, and of the estimation in which the royal faith was held; for whilst they prove Henry's extreme poverty, they establish the degrading fact, that the humblest Esquire in his retinue would not embark under his banner, without receiving a quarter's wages in advance, or a piece

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\* *Foedera*, tome ix. pp. 311, 312.



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of plate, a fragment of the royal diadem, or some other valuable pledge, as security for its payment! This caution could only have arisen from experience of its necessity, and it shews too truly that the laurels that adorned the brows of some of our early monarchs, had been acquired by services which they repaid with treachery and falsehood.

To the Abbot of Westminster, the Crown of the late King Richard.—Redeemed by Hen. VI.

One great Circle of gold, garnished with fifty six balays,\* forty sapphires, eight diamonds and seven great pearls.—Weight, 4lb—value, £800. Pawned for 1000 marks, lent by the following persons:—

By the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Commonalty of Norwich.....	500 marks.
By the Mayor and Commonalty of Lenne. .	400 marks.
By Master William Westacre.....	40£
By William Walton.....	20£
By Nicholas Scounfet.....	10 marks.

On the 14th July, 3 Hen. V. 1415, the above jewels were pawned for one year and a half, to defray the expences of the King's voyage, and if not then redeemed, it was lawful for the creditors to dispose of them. *Fœdera*, tome ix. p. 286. *Sloane MSS.* 4600, f. 497.—Redeemed 7 Hen. VI.

These and the *tunica inconsutulis*, hereafter men-

\* Rubies of a peach colour.



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tioned, were given to the Abbot of Westminster, in exchange for King Richard's Crown.

To Thomas Peverel, B<sup>p</sup> of Worcester, Richard Crosby, Prior of Coventry, and to y<sup>e</sup> Mayor and Commonalty of that city, and Will. Waltam; a great gold collar of Ilkington (which was the King's Jewel when Prince of Wales) garnished with four rubies, four great sapphires, thirty-two great, and fifty three lesser pearls.—The weight, 36  $\frac{1}{2}$  oz. Pawned for £500—value £300.  
Redeemed 6 Hen. VI.

To John Chittern and Walter Cook, Clerks, one pair of basons of gold, chased in the fashion of roses, pounced with great bosselets,<sup>a</sup> garnished with sundry scutcheons. In the middle of the basons are the arms of S<sup>t</sup> George, and around the arms of S<sup>t</sup> Edward and S<sup>t</sup> Edmund,<sup>b</sup> the arms of the Emperor,<sup>c</sup> the arms of England and France

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<sup>a</sup> Bowls were frequently ornamented with *bosses*. Sir Thomas Lyttelton, in 1481, bequeathed "a boll of silver embossed with round bosses." *Testamenta Vetusta*, p. 365. Bosselets were probably small bosses or studs

<sup>b</sup> The arms of St. George, St. Edward the Confessor, and St. Edmund, King and Martyr, were frequently borne with those of the King. Richard the Second impaled his arms with those of St. Edward; and in the reign of Edward the First, we have proof that they were used on Banners in the field, for in a contemporary Poem describing the Siege of Karlarock in 1300, it is said:

"Peu fist le roy porter amont  
Sa baniere et la Saint Eymont  
La Saint George e la Saint Edwart."

<sup>c</sup> From the arms of the Emperor being on these basons it is most likely that they had belonged to King Richard the

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departed,\* the arms of the Principality of Wales, and of the Dutchy of Guienne, weighing together 28 lb 8 oz., price the ounce, 26s. 8d. — value £458. 11s 3d. Redeemed, 7 Hen. VI

To John Heend, Alderman of London, one Palet, called THE PALET OF SPAIN, garnished with thirty-five balays and bastard rubies, four sapphires, fifteen great emeralds, three-hundred small emeralds, and three-hundred little pearls. The weight, 8 lb 6 oz., value £200. Thus with divers other jewels pawned for 500 marks.— Redeemed, 4 Hen. VI.

	Marks.
To the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral of Exeter.	100
Mayor and Commonalty of Exeter. . . . .	100
John, Abbot of Tavistock. . . . .	100
John, Prior of Plympton. . . . .	100
John, Prior of Launceston. . . . .	100
William, Abbot of Buckfast. . . . .	100
Robert Cary, Esq <sup>re</sup> . . . . .	100
Alex <sup>r</sup> Chambernourne, Esq <sup>re</sup> . . . . .	60
John Beville, Esq <sup>re</sup> . . . . .	60
John Copleton, Esq <sup>re</sup> . . . . .	10
Mayor and Commonalty of Plymouth . . . . .	30

A great Tabernacle of silver gilt, garnished with gold, which belonged to the Duke of Burgundy, garnished with twenty balays, twenty-two sapphires, and one hundred and thirty-seven pearls. *Fœdera*, tome ix. p. 285, 286.

To the Mayor and City of London, 1st August, 1415, as security for the payment of 10,000 marks sterling,

Second, whose first wife was Anne, daughter of the Emperor Charles IV.

\* i. e. quarterly.

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which they had lent to the King, "de lour pure voluntee," which sum was to be paid at Christmas, 1416, by the receipt of the duties arising from all wool and tanned hides exported from the port of London, from the feast of the Nativity of St John the Baptist next ensuing, until the whole sum was repaid, a collar called "Pusan d'Or," worked with antelopes\* set with certain precious stones, in a leather cover, sealed with the seal of the arms of the Rev<sup>d</sup> Father in God, Richard, Bishop of Norwich, which was put in pledge. *Ibid*, p. 299

### PAWNEED FOR WAGES, IN THE EXPEDITION TO FRANCE.

To Thomas, Duke of Clarence, 12 July, 1415, as security for what should be due to him and his retinue according to certain indentures. The redemption was to take place by the day of the feast of the circumcision, 1416, or the Duke might dispose of it; but if redeemed, it was to be restored by him whole and without damage or injury. *Fadera*, tome ix p. 284.

A crown called THE HARRY CROWN, broken and distributed as followeth:—

To Sir John Colvyl, a great flower de lys part of the said Crown, garnished with one great balays, and one other balays, one ruby, three great sapphires, and ten great pearls — Redeemed 8 Hen. VI.

To John Pudsey, Esq. a pinnacle of the aforesaid crown, garnished with two sapphires, one square balays, and six pearls.

\* This Collar also probably belonged to King Richard the second, whose device was an antelope. *Regal Heraldry*, p. 21. on the authority of Harl MSS. 2259.

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To Maurice Brune, a pinnacle of the said crown, garnished as the former. The weight  $1\frac{1}{2}$  oz.  $1^4$ .—Redeemed 9 Hen. VI.

To John Saundish, another of the pinnacles garnished as those above.—Redeemed 9 Hen. VI.

To Edward, Duke of York, an almes dish of gold, called *THE TROVE*, made in the fashion of a ship, standing on a bear, garnished with nineteen balays, twelve great and fourteen other pearls. The weight 22 lb.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  oz. Value the ounce, 26s. 8d. Value the ship, £332.—Redeemed 9 Hen. VI.

To Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, a great ship of silver over gilt, bearing twelve men at arms, fighting on the deck, and at each end of the ship a castle. The weight 65 lb 3 oz. Value of the lb. 48s.; the oz. 4s.

Item, two candlesticks of gold, each weighing 14 lb.  $7\frac{1}{2}$  oz. Price the ounce, 26s. 8d. and several other vessels of plate and jewels.—Redeemed 9 Hen. VI.

To Robert Chalons, Knt. as security for his second quarter's pay, amounting to £45. 6s.  $1\frac{1}{2}$ d.; a cup of gold, two pots of silver gilt, and a small vessel of silver gilt. At Southampton, 14 July, 1415. *Fœdera*, tome ix. p. 288

To Sir Ralph Shirley, by indenture dated at Winchester, 6 July, 3 Hen. V. to serve a whole year with six lances, (himself reckoned for one) and eighteen archers, a paxbrede of gold, enamelled white, and a crucifix, with an image of the blessed Mary, and John the Evangelist.\* Weight 5 oz. Value the oz. 26s. 8d. in all £6. 6s. 8d.

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\* A similar article is bequeathed by the will of George, Earl of Huntingdon, in 1534, to the church of Ashby de la Zouche "Item, my best pax of silver and gilt, with a crucifix, whereon are Mary and John." *Testamenta Vetusta*, p. 660.

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Item, a little gold tablet in fashion of a mirror, garnished with three balays, nine pearls hanging on a gold chain, one part enamelled with the salutation of our Lady; on the other a looking glass. The weight 6 ounces, an half, and half a quarter. Value in all £12. Item, a cross of gold, garnished with four balays, six sapphires, and fourteen pearls. The weight 2½ oz. 20<sup>d</sup>. Value the ounce 48s., in all £5. Item, a great hawk's bowl of gold, with two vertorilla, and one warrok of gold, and thirty other bowls, all of one sort, their weight 12 oz. and 20<sup>d</sup>. Value the oz. 26s. 8d., in all 16 lb. 20<sup>d</sup>.

To John Irby, one tablet of gold, garnished with four balays, eleven gross pearls, one great sapphire of the image of Christ, for the wages of one lance, and two archers. — Redeemed 26 Nov. 3 Hen. V.

To S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Chaworth,  
S<sup>r</sup> William Harington,  
S<sup>r</sup> John Skydmore,  
S<sup>r</sup> Walter Beauchamp,  
S<sup>r</sup> Rowland Lental  
S<sup>r</sup> William Talbot  
S<sup>r</sup> Walter Hungerford

To each of them, pawn'd for their wages, several vessels of plate and jewels, tablets, images, crucifixes, notredames, tabernacles, and the like.—Redeemed by Henry VI.

To Sir Thomas Dutton, a tablet of gold; on the top is the Trinity, and beneath at their feet the glorious virgin Mary; on the foot of the Table, are the three kings of Killen. It is garnished with twenty-seven gross pearls, seven of them each worth five marks, and the other twenty worth 30d. a piece. The weight 5 lb. 1 oz.—Redeemed 4 Hen. VI. *Knighton*, p. 2740 states, that this jewel was given to Richard the second, by the city of London, A<sup>o</sup> 1292.—Value £800.



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To Sir Thomas Hanley, a pair of gold spurs, with red tysser<sup>a</sup>. The weight  $7\frac{1}{2}$  ounces. Value the ounce, 26s. 8d. Item, an ewer over gilt with gold, garnished with coral. The weight 29 ounces, value the ounce 20<sup>d</sup>. Item, a sword garnished with ostrich's feathers, (the King's sword when Prince of Wales). The value £22

These were security for £12. 8s. ob wages.—Redeemed 9 Hen. VI. The executors remitting the £2. 8s. ob.

To Sir John Radelyff, a tablet of gold, with a piece of the *Tunica Inconsutilis*,<sup>a</sup> garnished with six balays, six sapphires, twelve great, and twelve other pearls. The weight 2 lb. 5 oz. The value £47. Security for £81 26s. 7d. ob.—Redeemed 7 Hen. VI.

This and the great circle of gold before mentioned, were in the 8 Hen. VI. given to the abbot of Westminster, in exchange for King Richard's crown.

To Sir William Porter, a cup of gold weighing  $31\frac{1}{2}$  ounces. Value the ounce, 26s. 8d.

To John Attulbrigg, Usher of the Black Rod, one tipsere of purple velvet, garnished with gold. Item, one great ring of gold, in the which is written, *En un sans plus*. Item, one pair of Paternosters of pure gold, containing twelve knopps. Redeemed from his executors the last day of Oct. 3 Hen. V.

To an Esquire called Brut, and another Esquire called William Branespath, a cross enamelled with green; on the top are thirty-three pearls, the foot of gold: and a cup.—Redeemed 13 Hen. VI.

To John Pilkington and William Bradshaw, a little tablet of gold, garnished with the arms of England and France. A gold chain wrought with letters and crowns, &c.—Redeemed 10 Hen. VI.

<sup>a</sup> Sic in the MS.



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To John Phelip,  
Thomas Corbet,  
John Ask,  
John Chenduyt, } Esquires.

to each of them several cups, plates, and jewels.—  
Redeemed by Hen. VI.

To John Durwarde, one tabernacle of gold, within  
the which is an image of our Lady sitting on a green ter-  
rage, with the figures of Adam and Eve, and four angels  
at the four corners. On the tabernacle is a crucifix of  
gold and a church. The tabernacle is garnished with  
three rubies, three diamonds, four balays, three sapphires,  
seventy great pearls, and forty little pearls. The weight  
42 ounces, value £60.—Redeemed 4 Hen. VI.

To John Clyff, one of the King's Minstrels. Secu-  
rity by indenture, for his wages, 3 Hen. V. in the war  
against France: a reading desk of silver, over gilt, the  
foot of it in the fashion of a tabernacle, standing on four  
feet. Two ewers of silver gilt, one enamelled with the  
arms of England and France, the other with hearts. A  
table with sundry relicks therein, standing on two lions;  
weighing together, 26 lb 6 oz. Value of the lb 40s.  
One great bowl, three candlesticks, with three pikes, a  
great silver spoon, a skummer, and other plate, weigh-  
ing together 19 lb.—Value the lb. 30s. Redeemed from  
his Executors, 12 Hen. VI.

It has been estimated that Henry  
raised by loans on these jewels, and by  
the grant of Parliament, five hundred  
thousand nobles,\* and having thus sur-  
mounted a powerful obstacle, he prose-

\* *Monstrelet*, tome i. f. clviij

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cuted his hostile arrangements with unremitting energy.

On the 18th of June,<sup>a</sup> the king left Westminster on his way to the place of rendezvous for his army. It would appear from the indefatigable Lydgate, that his departure was attended with much ceremony; that he proceeded through London to St. Paul's, accompanied by the Mayor and Citizens, and having made a handsome offering to that church, he took leave of his royal step-mother,<sup>b</sup> and then offered another oblation at St. George's, after which he set out for Southampton. But the garrulous

<sup>a</sup> "And in this time the kyng made his vyage towards the coast of Normandy, *through the City of London*, towards the town of Southampton, that is to wete the xvij day of June, 3rd year of his reign." *Harl. MSS.* 505. f 75. In his proclamation dated at Reading on the 10th May, Henry, as has been stated in a former page, says, "Nous avons prins nostre chemyns sur notre prouchien voiage par nous personnelment;" but it is nearly certain that he returned again to London before his embarkation, and moreover Reading was not a little out of the direct road to Southampton.

<sup>b</sup> Joan, widow of John, the valiant Duke of Brittany, and daughter of Charles, second King of Navarre. She married King Henry the fourth in 1403, and died without issue by him, July 10, 1437.

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monk's narrative is too curious not to be given in his own words :

"After a non, with rizt good chere,  
Hyse grete gonnys and engynes stronge  
At London he schippid him alle in fere  
And sone fro Westmenster yen sprongge  
With all hyse lordys sothe to saye  
The Mair was redy and mette hym there  
With alle y<sup>e</sup> craftes in good araye  
It is ful soth: what nede to swere  
Heyl comely Kyng the Mair gan say  
The grace of God now be withe the  
And spede the well in thy jornay  
Almyghti god in Trinite  
And graunt the ever more the degre  
To felle yin enemys bothe nyght and day  
Amen seyde alle y<sup>e</sup> comualte  
Grauntmercy sires oure kyng gan say'  
To seynt poulys he held y<sup>e</sup> way'  
He offred there full worthyly  
Fro thens to the Quen yat same day'  
And tok his leve ful hendely'  
And yorugh out London yanne gan he ryde  
To seynt George he com in hye  
And yere he offred yat iche tyde  
And other lordys yat weren him bye  
And fro thens to Suhthampton,<sup>a</sup> &c."

Henry arrived at Winchester before the 26th June,<sup>b</sup> and remained there some

<sup>a</sup> Harl. MSS. 565, f. 103<sup>b</sup>, 104

<sup>b</sup> See a document dated at Winchester on that day, in the *Foedera*, tome ix. p. 282. It is true that the dates affixed to

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independently of the eight hundred thousand crowns promised with Katherine; that the king appeared satisfied with the propositions, and replied, that he would consider of them at his leisure; that after having consulted with his council, they were summoned to an audience on Saturday, the 16th of July,\* when they were told that they must name a precise time to bring Katherine, with the eight hundred thousand crowns and the jewels agreed upon, and within which to deliver up the towns in question; that he consented to a truce for fifty years only, in which to endeavour to effect a peace, but that if the attempt failed, he and his successors should be obliged to give up the said territories, and if they agreed to those terms he would send a confidential secretary to France, to submit them to Charles, but he required that they should remain in England until the answer arrived; that afterwards the chan-

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\* The 16th of July fell in 1415, on a Tuesday.

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cellor demanded that the money and jewels with the said territories, should be placed in Henry's hands on St. Andrew's day\* next following; that the ambassadors having replied that there was not enough time to coin the money by that day, and that they were not sufficiently instructed on the points urged by the king, he immediately broke up the assembly, and retired very ill satisfied; that Henry having subsequently commanded the bishop of Winchester, the chancellor, to give them his final answer, that personage in a long speech, first alluded to the negotiations between their respective countries during the two preceding years, and stated that before the king consented to an alliance with Katherine, he could not without shame, omit to assert his right to the crown of France, which belonged to him by hereditary right: he then noticed the different embassies sent to

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\* November 30.



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France; relative to that marriage and the king's claims, and observed that the present one had arrived from France very late, to his sovereign's great prejudice; that although they had offered eight hundred thousand crowns, and seventeen towns, they had not specified how they were to be held, that is, whether the cession of them was to be considered an impediment to his right to the crown of France or not, nor had they stated when the jewels and dowry were to be placed in the king's hands; he therefore, he said, doubted the sincerity of Charles' wish for peace, and consequently that Henry must have recourse to other means to obtain justice; and he concluded by calling upon God, angels, and the world, with the whole host of heaven above, and all the earth beneath, to witness that the king was unable, from the denial of a reasonable and just satisfaction of his claims, to make a firm and permanent peace.\* Another French

\* pp. tome II. 999-1001.



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writer, who was contemporary with the period, although he briefly notices the proceedings of the ambassadors at Winchester, gives a very different account of the termination of their negotiation, and in which he is partially supported by Monstrelet;\* for he informs us that when the chancellor had finished his speech, Henry himself added, that he was the true king of France, and that he would conquer that kingdom; upon which the archbishop of Bourges said, "Sir, if it will not displease you, I will reply to you," and Henry having desired him to answer boldly, and say what he liked, and that no harm should come to him, he proceeded, "Sir, the king of France, our sovereign lord, is true king of France, and over those things to which you say you have a right, you

\* Elmham, Walsingham, and Titus Livius, may perhaps be said to corroborate the relation of Des Ursins, for though they do not relate the expressions used by Henry and the archbishop of Bourges, they agree in charging him with having replied to the King with improper boldness. The archbishop's spirited conduct cannot however be too highly commended.

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have no lordship, not even to the kingdom of England, which belongs to the true heirs of the late king Richard ; nor with you can our sovereign lord safely treat." This spirited speech both displeased and astonished Henry, and in a haughty tone he ordered them to depart, adding, "that he would quickly follow them."<sup>a</sup>

The French ambassadors returned to Paris on the 26th of July, and reported the ill success of their mission. They stated that they found it impossible to treat with the English ; that all Henry's mild and peaceable professions covered much malice and dissimulation ; that in their opinion it was his object to surprize France by feigning a desire for peace, and that whilst he was amusing their sovereign with fair words, he had levied an army from all parts, to overthrow his kingdom ; that they had no doubt he would invade their country, and

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<sup>a</sup> *Des Urrins*, p. 289.

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consequently that it was necessary to be prepared, and that he had six thousand men at arms, and fifty thousand archers, besides infantry, pioneers, and all sorts of labourers requisite for war.\* Until that moment the French court, either cajoled by Henry's hypocrisy, or lulled into security by a mistaken estimate of the extent of his power, had neglected every means for resisting the storm which was about to burst upon its head. Charles' councils had long been distracted by the rivalry of some of his own subjects, and the intestine commotions which agitated France, together with the weakness of its monarch's intellect, and the extraordinary indifference which was evinced respecting Henry's preparations, tended to afford every hope for the gratification of his utmost ambition.

Shortly after the departure of the French ambassadors, Henry proceeded towards Southampton, and it would ap-

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\* *Laboureur*, tome ii. p. 1000.

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pear that he continued either in that town, or within its immediate neighbourhood, until his embarkation. From the anonymous writer, whose narrative forms so important a part of this work, we learn that the king passed some time at the abbey of Titchfield,<sup>a</sup> and that whilst there, by the advice of the privy council, he ordered, that copies should be made of the treaties between his father Henry the fourth and the French court, relative to the restitution of Aquitaine to the crown of England; and which, he asserts, were then openly violated by the French. These transcripts having been sealed with the seal of the archbishop of Canterbury, and signed by a notary public, were sent by Henry to the general council at Constance to the Emperor Sigismund and other Catholic princes, so that all Christendom might know what wrong was done to him by the want of

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<sup>a</sup> The Abbey of Titchfield is about ten miles from Southampton.

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faith on the part of the French, and that he was consequently, in opposition to his own wishes, justly obliged to take up arms in vindication of his right.<sup>a</sup> The *Fœdera* contains only three documents of any interest respecting the expedition, between the 25th of July, and the 5th of August. One of these, tested at Southampton on the 20th of July, was addressed to Richard Redeman and John Strange, and commanded them to inspect the soldiers and archers, in the retinue of the duke of Clarence, and to make a return to his majesty of their sufficiency and efficiency.<sup>b</sup> The others were directed to the Sheriff of Southampton; the first was dated on the 24th of that month, by which he was commanded to proclaim, that every Lord, Knight,

<sup>a</sup> Cottonian MSS. Julius E. iv f. 115.<sup>b</sup> This account is mentioned by Goodwin in his *Life of Henry V.* p. 61, and he has consequently given a copy of the treaties in question; but neither Henry's residence nor proceedings at Titchfield, appear to be noticed by any other contemporary writer than the one whose words are just cited.

<sup>b</sup> Tome ix. p. 287.



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Esquire, Valette, and all others whatsoever, who were about to accompany the King should provide himself with victuals and necessaries for the voyage, for a quarter of a year; and also that if the inhabitants within his jurisdiction found themselves aggrieved or molested by any captains or their soldiers, they might seek their remedy before the Seneschal of the Treasury; or before the Comptroller of the King's Household, and that complete justice should be rendered them upon his arrival.<sup>a</sup> The next writ alluded to was tested at Porchester on the 29th, by which the Sheriff was desired to proclaim, that all and singular Lords, *Magnates*, Knights, Esquires, and Valettes, and all others whatsoever, who were engaged to attend the King, should repair without delay to the ships and vessels assigned for their conveyance, by the next ensuing Thursday<sup>b</sup> at the farthest, to proceed on the voyage.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Ibid* p. 288.

<sup>b</sup> 1st. August.

<sup>c</sup> *Ibid*. p. 298.



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On the 24th of the same month, Henry made his will, which is printed by Rymer,<sup>a</sup> but unlike his testament made in 1417, when he meditated a second invasion of France, that document does not contain any allusion to the circumstance under which it was written; and it is only remarkable for the following singular addition, which is said to have been in Henry's own autograph.

"This is my last will, subscribed with my own hand, R. H. Jesu mercy and gremery Ladie Marie help."

A few words will here be said upon that extraordinary piety which all the biographers of Henry assert was a leading trait in his character, and from which feeling the addition to his will appears to have arisen. It seems indeed difficult for us to reconcile the lawless ambition, much less the hypocrisy which Henry displayed in his negotiations, with an obedience to the

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<sup>a</sup> *Fœdera*, tome ix. p. 289-293.

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genuine dictates of christianity; but the opinions of our ancestors at the commencement of the sixteenth century were evidently very different, and as there is no question but that he rigidly observed every rite of the church, that he was bountiful towards its members, and with uniform devotion ascribed his success to the Almighty, we cannot be surprized that his contemporaries should have described him to have been eminently pious. Lydgate has noticed his oblations on his departure from London;<sup>a</sup> and the writers just alluded to state, that previous to his embarkation, he had observed "numerous fasts, and made divers devout pilgrimages, prayers to God, alms-deeds, and other supplications of the clergy and commons,"<sup>b</sup> and they adduce the following circumstance in proof of the sentiments which they have imputed to him.

<sup>a</sup> Vide a former page of this work.

<sup>b</sup> *Titus Livius*; translated, and many additions made to his narrative from Monstrelet and other writers, *Harl. MSS.* 35

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"Amongst his host upon the sea beach at Southampton, he found a certain gentleman whose name was Olandyne, in whose company were xx men well apparelled, for the war. This Olandyne had given to poor people for Christ's sake all his substance and goods, and in great devotion entered a monk of the monastery of the Charter House, whose wife was also a professed in a house of religious women, and there continued during her life; but this Olandyne, at the instigation of the devil, enemy to all virtue, after a little time repented his profession, and obtained from the Pope a dispensation from his vows, and to resume his former temporal estate; and as a temporal man, offered to do the King service in his war. But when the most virtuous King was informed of his life and conversation as the child of God, he refused the company of this gentleman as an inconstant man, and a contemner of the religion of Christ; at whose refusal this Olandyne having indignation as a man replete with pride, departed from the King, and went into the aid of his adversaries in France, whereafter he was slain in the field of Agincourt, right for fighting against y<sup>e</sup> Englishmen."

Before leaving England, Henry addressed another letter to the French monarch, the real object of which was probably to prove to him, that he was ready to attempt to obtain by hostile measures, that which he had so long sought by treaty. This letter it appears was written in Latin, but Hall has given a copy of

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<sup>a</sup> Harl. MSS. 35, f. 17.

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it in his Chronicle in English, which differs materially in the construction of the sentences from the following translation of the copy in French, printed by Laboureur, though the purport is precisely the same. According to Monstrelet and Hall, it was dated on the 5th of August; but Laboureur and Des Ursins agree in assigning to it the date of the 28th of July, and which appears the more probable, from the circumstance of the Earl of Cambridge and Lord Scrope, having been beheaded at Southampton, on the very day upon which the English chroniclers state the letter to have been written; for without ascribing extraordinary humanity to Henry, we may, in a case of discrepancy in the date of a document under his own hand, suppose it to have been written on any other day, rather than upon that which witnessed the violent deaths of his kinsman, and his most intimate friend.

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TO THE MOST SERENE PRINCE CHARLES, OUR COUSIN  
AND ADVERSARY OF FRANCE, HENRY BY THE  
GRACE OF GOD, KING OF ENGLAND AND OF FRANCE.  
DESIRE THE SPIRIT OF A BETTER RESOLUTION,  
AND TO RENDER TO EACH THAT WHICH BELONGS  
TO HIM.

Most serene Prince our cousin and adversary, the two great and noble kingdoms of England and France, formerly brothers, but now divided, had usually been eminent throughout all the world by their triumphs. They combined but for the generous object of enriching and adorning the house of God, to place peace in all her boundaries, to make it flourish within its whole extent, and to join their arms against her adversaries, as against the public enemies. They never encountered them that they did not happily subdue them; but alas! this faithful union is vanished: we are fallen into the unhappy disposition of Lot and Abraham: the honor of this fraternal friendship is buried: her death and her sepulture have revived dissention, that old enemy of human nature, which may justly be called the mother of Hatred and of War. The Sovereign judge of Sovereigns will be our witness one day of the sincere inclination with which we have sought peace, and how we have employed prayers and promises to persuade you to it, even by giving up the possession of a State which belongs to us by hereditary right, and which nature would oblige us to preserve for our posterity. We are not so blind of sense and courage but that we are resolved at last to fight with all our strength even to death; but as the law of Deuteronomy commands, that whoever appears in arms before a town, should offer it peace before it is besieged, we have, even up to the present time, done all which our rank allows peaceably to recover the possession of that which belongs



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to us by legitimate succession, and to reunite to our crown that which you wrongfully and by violence possess; so much so, that from your refusing justice, we may rightly have recourse to the force of arms. Our honor, however, and the testimony of our conscience, obliges us once more in going against you, to demand the reason of your refusal, to exhort you in the name of the merciful bowels of Jesus Christ, to do us justice, and to say to you that which he teaches, *Friend give me that which you owe me—Amice redde quod debes et fiat nobis ipsius Dei summi nutu.* To avoid a deluge of human blood, restore to us our inheritance which you unjustly detain, or render us at least that which we have so many times demanded by our ambassadors. Only the love and fear of God, and the advantage of peace, have made us contented with so little, and we were willing on that account to remit fifty thousand crowns of that which we have been offered in marriage, to shew that we are more inclined to peace than to avarice; that we prefer the title which our father has left us to those to which we have legitimate pretensions by representation from our forefathers; and that we are more disposed to lead an innocent life with your fair and noble daughter Katherine, our very dear cousin, than to enrich ourselves with the treasures of iniquity, to adore the idol of riches, and to extend and increase our crown, which God forbid, to the prejudice of our conscience. Given under our private seal, in our town of Southampton, upon the sea-side, the 28th of July.<sup>a</sup>

About the end of July, Henry's ambitious designs received a momentary

<sup>a</sup> Hall and Monstrelet assert that Henry forwarded this letter by Antelope, his Pursuivant at arms, whilst Laboureur states that it was sent by the King's chief Herald. Charles's reply will be found on a subsequent page.



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check from the discovery of a treasonable conspiracy against his person and government, by Richard earl of Cambridge, brother of the Duke of York, Henry lord Scrope of Masham the lord Treasurer, and Sir Thomas Grey of Heton, knight. The king's command for the investigation of the affair was dated on the 21st of that month, and a writ was issued to the Sheriff of Southampton, to assemble a jury for their trial; and which on Friday, the 2nd of August, found that on the 20th of July, Richard earl of Cambridge, and Thomas Grey of Heton, in the county of Northumberland, knight, had falsely and traitorously conspired to collect a body of armed men, to conduct Edmund earl of March<sup>a</sup> to the frontiers of Wales, and to proclaim him the rightful heir to the crown, in case Richard the second

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<sup>a</sup> It is scarcely necessary to observe, that at that moment the earl of March was the lawful heir to the crown, he being the heir general of Lionel, duke of Clarence, *third* son of Edward the third, whilst Henry the fifth was but the heir of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, Edward's *fourth* son.

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was actually dead; that they had solicited Thomas Trumpyngton, who personated king Richard, Henry Percy, and many others from Scotland to invade the realm; that they had intended to destroy the king, the duke of Clarence, the duke of Bedford, the duke of Gloucester, with other lords and great men; and that Henry lord Scrope of Masham consented to the said treasonable purposes, and concealed the knowledge of them from the king. On the same day, the accused were reported by Sir John Popham, constable of the castle of Southampton, to whose custody they had been committed, to have confessed the justice of the charges brought against them, and that they threw themselves on the king's mercy; but Scrope endeavoured to extenuate his conduct, by asserting that his intentions were innocent, and that he appeared only to acquiesce in their designs to be enabled to defeat them. The earl and lord Scrope having claimed the privilege of being tried by their peers,

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were remanded to prison, but sentence of death in the usual manner was pronounced upon Grey, and he was immediately executed; though in consequence of Henry having dispensed with his being drawn and hung, he was allowed to walk from the Watergate to the Northgate of the town of Southampton, where he was beheaded. A commission was soon afterwards issued, addressed to the duke of Clarence, for the trial of the earl of Cambridge and lord Scrope, who accordingly summoned Humphrey duke of Gloucester, Edward duke of York, who was allowed to name Thomas earl of Dorset as his deputy, probably on account of his near relationship to the earl of Cambridge, Edmund earl of March, John earl of Huntingdon, Thomas earl of Arundel, John earl Marshal, Thomas earl of Salisbury, Richard earl of Oxford, Michael earl of Suffolk, John lord Clifford, Gilbert lord Talbot, William lord Zouche, John lord Harington, Robert lord Willoughby, William lord Clinton, John lord

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Maltravers, Hugh lord Bouchier, and lord Botreaux, "lords and *magnates* of England, and peers of the said Richard earl of Cambridge, and lord Scrope, being then present, and intended for the voyage of our lord the king, beyond the sea." This court unanimously declared the prisoners guilty, and sentence of death having been denounced against them, they paid the forfeit of their lives, on Monday, the 5th of August.<sup>a</sup> In consideration of the earl being of the blood-royal, he was merely beheaded; but to mark the perfidy and ingratitude of Scrope, who had enjoyed the king's utmost confidence and friendship and had even shared his bed,<sup>b</sup> he commanded that he should be drawn to the place of execution, and that his head should be affixed on one of the gates of the city of York.

The preceding account of this transaction has been entirely taken from the

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<sup>a</sup> *Fodera*, tome, ix. p. 301. *Cottonian MSS. Julius E.*, iv. f. 115<sup>b</sup>, and *Harl. MSS.* 585, f. 75.

<sup>b</sup> *Harl. MSS.* 35.

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notice of it on the Rolls of Parliament,<sup>a</sup> but the description given of it by a writer who appears to have been contemporary with the event, and whose narrative has not been before printed, is deserving of notice, because he expressly asserts, that they were bribed to make the rash attempt in favour of the earl of March, by the French court.

"And than fell there a grete disease and a foule meschief for ther were iij lordes which that the kyng trust moch on and through fals covetise they had purposed and ymaged y<sup>e</sup> kynges deth and thought to have slayne hym and all his bretherne or he had take the see which were named thus Syr Richarde erle of Cambryage brother to the Duke of yorke, the second was the lord scrope Tresorier of England, the thurd was sir thomas gray knyght of the northcontre and theis lordes aforsaide for lucour of money had made promise to the frenshmen for to have slayne kyng Henr and all his worthy bretherne by a fals trayne sodenly or they had be ware But Almyghty good of his grete grace held his holy hand over hem, and savyd hem from this pillous meyne. And for to have done this they receyved of the frensshmen a million of gold and that there was proved openly. And for hir fals treason they were all there jugged on to the deth. And this was the juggement, that they shuld be ladd thurgh Hampton and w'oute Northgate there to be heded and thus they ended hir lyffe for hir fals covetisse and treason."<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Vol. iv. p. 64-67

<sup>b</sup> Cottonian MSS. Claudius A. viii. f. 2.



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Lydgate too, speaks of the same circumstance :

“Lordis of yis lond our kyng gon ye sell  
For a milion of gold as y here say  
Therefore here truayle was quyte hem full well  
For yey wolde a mad a queynte aray  
Therefore song it was wailaway  
There lyves yey lest a non rizt in hast.”<sup>a</sup>

Goodwin<sup>b</sup> states, that besides the million of gold alluded to, the earl of Cambridge was reminded by the French ministers that his wife was heiress to the crown of England, and that with the assistance of France he might in her right easily obtain it, if Henry were removed. This story is however proved to be unworthy of credit by the fact that although the earl was the husband of Ann, daughter of Roger earl of March, through whom the house of York subsequently derived their pretensions to the throne, yet that in 1415, her brother Edmund earl of March was alive, and not more than twenty-three years of age.

<sup>a</sup> *Harl. MSS* 565, f. 104.

<sup>b</sup> *Life of Henry the fifth*, p. 64, apparently on the authority of an anonymous historian of the reign of Henry the sixth, whose MS. narrative was then in the possession of D. J. Sotheby.



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Historians have however generally confessed their utter inability to explain upon what grounds the conspirators built their expectations of success; and unless they had been promised powerful assistance from France, the design seems to have been one of the most absurd and hopeless upon record. Their guilt is however placed almost beyond suspicion, by the following copy of the earl of Cambridge's confession, which with his supplication for mercy, have been taken from the originals in his own hand-writing in the British Museum.

"My most dredfulle and sovereyne lege lord. Lyke to zowre hynesse to weite, touchyng the p'pose cast ageyns zowre hyc estat, havyng ye erle of marche by his awne assent, and by ye assent of myself wher of y most me repent of al worldly thyng and by ye acorde of ye lord scrop and Sr Thomas Grey, to <sup>h<sup>er</sup>e</sup> hadde ye forseyd erle in to ye lond of Walys wyth outyn zowre lycence takyng up on hym ye sovereynte of zys lond zyf yondyr manis persone, wych yey callyn kyng Richard hadde nauth bene alyve, as y wot wel yat he wys not alyve, for ye wych poynt I putte me holy in zowre grace; and as for ye forme of a proclamacyoun wych schulde hadde bene cryde in ye erle name as he heyre to ye corowne of ynglond, a geyns zow, my lege lord calde by a untren name harry of

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Lancastre usurpur of ynglond to ye entent to hadde made ye more poeple to hade draune to hym and fro zow of ye wych crye scrop knew not of by me, but grey dyd, havynge wyth ye erle a baner of ye armes of ynglond, havynge also ye coroune of speyne on a palet, wych my lege lord is one of zowre weddys<sup>a</sup> for ye wych offence y putte me holy in zowre grace and as for ye p'pose takyn by unfrevyle and wederyngtoun for ye bryngyng in of yat p'sone wych yey namyd kyng Richard and herry percy oute of scotland wyth a power of scottys and yeyre power togedyrs seymyng to yeyme able to geve zow a bataille of ye wych entent S<sup>r</sup> Thomas grey wyst of and i also but nauth Scrop as by me of ye wych knawynge i submytte me holy into zowre grace and as for ye takynge of zowre castelles in Walys Dary Howell made me be host so yere were a steryng in ye north of ye wych poynt i putte me holy in zowre grace and as touchyng ye erle of marche and lusy his man yey seydyn me <sup>leth</sup><sup>1</sup> yat ye erle was nauth schreven of agrete whyle but at al hys confessours putte hym in penaunce to clayme yat yey callyddyn his ryth yat woo be yat tyme yat every i knew heny thyng yat ever to hym longyd<sup>b</sup> of ye wych poyntes and artycles here befor wretyn and of al odyr wych now arne naoth in mynde but trewly as oft as heny to myn mynde fallyn i schal deuly and treuly certefye zow yer of besekyng to zow my lege lord for hys love yat suffyrd passyoun on ye good fryday so have zee compassyoun on me zowre lege man and zyf heny of yes p'sones whos names arne

<sup>a</sup> *Wedde*, a pawn or pledge. *Tyrolkitt's Chaucer*. It would appear that "the crown of Spain on a palet," had been pledged as security for money due from that country, and it is not a little singular that the said "Palet," should have been pawned by Henry to one of his own subjects, for a similar purpose. See p. xlviii

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.*

<sup>b</sup> Here the writer appears to have erased nearly two lines.

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conteynd in zys bylle woldyn contrary ye substantunce of yat i have wretyn at zys tyme i schalle be redy wyth ye myth of god to make hyt good as zee my lege lord wylle awarde me."<sup>a</sup>

"Myn most dredfulle and sovereyne lege lord i Richard york zowre humble subgyt and verrey lege man beseke zow of grace of all maner offenses wych y have done or assentyd to in heny kynde by steryng of odyr folke eggyng me yer to wherein y wote wel i have hyle offendyd to zowre hynesse besechyng zow at ye reverence of god yat zow lyke to take me in to ye handys of zowre mercifulie and pytouse grace thenkyng zee wel of zowre gret goodnesse my lege lord my fulle trust is yat zee wylle have consyderatyoun thauth yat myn persone be of none valwe zowre hye goodnesse where god hath sette zow in so hye estat to every lege man yat to zow longyth plenteuously to geve grace yat zow lyke to accept zys myn symple request for ye love of oure lady and of ye blysfulle holy gost to whom i pray yat yet mot zowre hert enduce to al pyte and grace for yeyre hye goodnesse."<sup>b</sup>

Although the earl of Cambridge positively accused his brother-in-law the earl of March, of having assented to the conspiracy, and endeavoured to exculpate lord Scrope, we may infer that his assertions were not credited; for not only did March sit as one of the judges

<sup>a</sup> *Coltonian MSS. Vespasianus, C. xiv. f. 39, on vellum.*

<sup>b</sup> *Coltonian MSS. Vespasianus, F. iii. f. 7. Both of these documents are printed in the *Fœdera*, tome ix. p. 301, but some slight differences exist between the copies there given, and the originals.*

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of the prisoners,<sup>a</sup> but two days after the execution of the earl, namely on the 7th of August, he obtained a full pardon for any crime he might have committed,<sup>b</sup> whilst Scrope underwent the severest punishment of the law.

No sooner was this attempt crushed than Henry again directed his whole attention to the invasion of France; but from the fifth of August to the day of his embarkation, few transactions of any importance are recorded. The truce with France expired on the second of that month, and which may therefore be considered as the day upon which the war between the two countries was renewed. By an instrument tested at Portsmouth, on the 11th of August, the day after the king left England, John duke

<sup>a</sup> *Rot. Parl.* vol. iv. p. 65, cited in a former page.

<sup>b</sup> *Fœdera*, tome ix. p. 303 This pardon has been considered by some writers as proof that he was privy to the conspiracy, and that he secured his own safety by betraying his accomplices; but the view taken of it by Dr Lingard seems extremely just, for that excellent historian observes, "such pardons were frequently solicited by the most innocent, as a measure of precaution, to defeat the malice, and prevent the accusations of their enemies." Vol. v. p. 16.

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of Bedford, his brother, was appointed to be *Custos* of the Realm during his absence;<sup>a</sup> but Hall,<sup>b</sup> in which he has been followed by Goodwin,<sup>c</sup> asserts, that before his departure from London he constituted his mother-in-law Queen Regent. The only document in the *Fædera* relating to the Queen, was tested at Westminster on the 30th June, by which Henry granted her permission to select either the castles of Windsor, Wallingford, Berkhamstead, or Hertford, for her residence whilst he was beyond the seas;<sup>d</sup> hence there does not appear to be the slightest authority for Hall's statement.

Almost the last measure adopted by the King before his departure, of which we have an account, referred to the government of the metropolis, and which is perhaps worthy of notice. He ad-

<sup>a</sup> *Fædera*, tome ix. p. 305. It would seem, however, from a document in the *Fædera*, which has been cited in p. xxvii, that the king had appointed the duke to that office as early as the month of April preceding.

<sup>b</sup> f. xi.

<sup>c</sup> *Life of Henry V.* p. 55.

<sup>d</sup> *Tome ix.* p. 283.



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dressed a writ to the Mayor, dated on the 12th August, stating, that by letters lately sent to him and the aldermen of the city, they were ordered to take every possible precaution for the preservation of the peace within it; but that he had nevertheless been informed, that divers of the aldermen were then absent, whose counsel and advice would be very useful towards the attainment of that object; and he therefore commanded him to write to the said aldermen, straightly charging them to return, and to remain thereto assist in maintaining tranquillity.<sup>a</sup>

Every arrangement being at length completed, Henry prepared for embarkation.<sup>b</sup> His army seems to have been

<sup>a</sup> *Fœdera*, tome ix, p. 307.

<sup>b</sup> It is scarcely possible to allude to the departure of Henry's army on this occasion, without citing Drayton's imaginary, but highly beautiful description of the separation between those who composed it and their relatives and friends.

"There might a man have seen in ev'ry street,  
The father bidding farewell to his son  
Small ch: dren kneeling at their father's feet:  
The wife w<sup>th</sup> her dear husband ne'er had done:  
Brother, his brother, with adieu to greet:  
One friend to take leave of another run:  
The maiden with her best belov'd to part,  
Gave him her hand, who took away her heart.



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very much over-rated ;<sup>a</sup> for if a reliance can be placed upon the "List" printed in another part of this volume,<sup>b</sup> it would appear that his forces amounted to about two thousand five hundred men at arms, four thousand horse-archers, four thousand foot-archers, and one thousand persons of different descriptions ; namely, miners, gunners, armourers, painters, pavilion-men, surgeons, grooms, purveyors, smiths, sadlers, masons, servants of the king's household, carpenters, labourers, shoe-makers, bowyers, &c.

This calculation presumes that every individual named in that document, actually brought to the rendezvous the number for which he contracted ; but

The noller youth the common rank above,  
On their curveting coursers mounted fair -  
One wore his mistress' garter, one her glove ;  
And he a lock of his dear Lady's hair  
And he her colours, whom he did in love ;  
There was not one but did some favor wear  
And each one took it, on his happy speed,  
To make it famous by some Knightly deed."

*Battle of Agincourt.*

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Lingard, who has evidently investigated the question with great attention, considers that Henry "entered the Seine with a fleet of fifteen hundred sail, carrying six thousand men at arms, and twenty-four thousand archers." Vol. v. p. 16.

<sup>b</sup> P. 81, *et seq.*

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deductions should be made for deficiencies arising from accident, or from inability in some cases of fulfilling their engagements. The whole amount, however, included in the statement referred to, does not exceed eleven thousand five hundred men ; but as every Man at Arms is considered to have been attended by his Custrell, or Valette,\* whilst it may be supposed that each of the noblemen and other principal personages took with him one or more servants, it must be concluded that if the eleven thousand five hundred persons in question actually embarked, the whole number of which the army consisted, fell little short of thirty thousand.

### The narrative of the preparations

\* See the agreement between the Earl of Salisbury, and William Bedyk, in p xxxvi. As the Editor found considerable difficulty in obtaining an accurate account of the number and description of the persons who were attached to each man at arms, he was induced to apply to the first authority on the subject—Dr. Meyrick. The result, together with some valuable information relative to the armour and equipment of a soldier at the period, will be found towards the end of the volume; and in referring to it, he cannot refrain from expressing his gratitude for the kindness with which that gentleman attended to his inquiries.

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for the expedition having been thus brought down to the moment of its departure from Southampton, the pen will be resigned to an anonymous biographer of Henry, who, it would appear was an eye-witness of all which he relates. His minute, and apparently faithful history of the king's proceedings from the period of his leaving England until his return to London, and of the progress of the army, including a particular description of the siege of Harfleur, and especially, of the celebrated **BATTLE OF AGINCOURT**, is for the first time translated and printed, from copies in the British Museum. This narration has been carefully collated with the account of every other contemporary writer of both nations; and the variations between their statements, and that of the biographer alluded to, will be found in the notes.

“ On Wednesday the 7th of August the king went from his castle of Porchester in a small vessel to the sea, and

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embarking on board his ship called *The Trinity*,<sup>a</sup> between the ports of Southamp-

<sup>a</sup> The following is a list of what may be termed the ROYAL NAVY at the period, copied from a paper in *Cottonian MSS. Cleopatra, F iii, f. 152*, to which the date of February, 4 Hen. V. 1417, has been assigned.

"LES NOMS DES NIEFS AND VESSEAUX DU ROY.

La Trinitee,	Grandz niefs.	Le George,	Balingers.
Le Saint Esprit,		La Ane.	
in Carrakes,		Le Gabriel de Harefien,	
Le Nicholas.		Le Cracchere,	
La Katerine,	Barges.	Le James,	
Le Gabriel,		Le Cigne,	
Le Thomas,		Le petit Johan,	
La Marie,		Le Nicholas &	
Le Roodecoge,		ij autres.	
La petite Tintee,			
ij autres.			

An imperfect copy of this List, and professedly taken from the same MS. is given in Bree's *Cursory Sketch of the State of the Naval and Military Establishment in the 14th Century*, p. 113, to which that writer has added, that "it appears from the above paper, that those of the above ships, which were in commission, (which he conjectures were not more than three of of the first division, six of the second, and eight of the Balingers) were manned, from the 24th June, to All Saints' Day, being one quarter and thirty-nine days, by

50 Men at arms, at 12d. per day.

150 Archers at 6d per day, and

4 Masters at 6d. per day

250 Mariners at 3d per day, for that time:"

but no notice of the circumstance occurs on "the paper" in question, nor it is presumed in any part of the volume which contains it. Many of those vessels, with the names of their commanders, are noticed in p. xxxviii. It is difficult, if not impossible, to state the size of the different ships which composed Henry's fleet. Mr. Bree conjectures that the largest, of which he con-

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ton and Portsmouth, he immediately ordered that the sail should be set, to signify his readiness to depart; and at the same time to serve as a signal to the fleet, which was dispersed among the sea ports, to hasten the more speedily to him. And when, on the following day,<sup>b</sup> being Sunday, almost all had arrived, he set sail with a favorable wind. There were about fifteen hundred vessels, including about a hundred which were

siders that there were very few, did not exceed eight hundred tons; and it is evident, from the writ to Nicholas Maudyt, cited in p. xxxvii, that none were under twenty tons. But to judge from contemporary illuminations, it would appear that the largest could not possibly have been above three hundred tons; and the probability is, that they were much smaller.

<sup>b</sup> 11th August. The following explanation of the text is perhaps necessary. It appears from it, that Henry embarked from Porchester castle in a small vessel, on Wednesday, the 7th of August; that he was conveyed in her from that place to where his own ship, "the Trin ty," was waiting for him; that he did not go on board "the Trinity," until Saturday the 10th August; and that on "the following day," Sunday, the 11th of August, the whole of his fleet having collected around him, he proceeded to sea. *Titus Livius*, p. 8, asserts that Henry's departure occurred on the Ides of August, i. e. the 13th, whilst the anonymous chronicler in *Hart. MSS.* 565, f 75, informs us, that "on the morowe aft' Seynt Lawrence's day, the xi August, the Sunday, the king and all his retinue shipped in the afternoon at Portsmouth, towards the town of Harfleur, in Normandy."



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left behind.<sup>c</sup> After having passed the Isle of Wight, swans were seen swimming in the midst of the fleet, which in the opinion of all, were said to be happy auspices of the undertaking.<sup>d</sup> On the next day, being Tuesday,<sup>e</sup> about the fifth

<sup>c</sup> *Titus Livius* says the fleet amounted to one thousand, but the chronicler in *Cottonian MSS. Claudius*, A viii as well as a note to *Hardyng's Chronicle*, rates them at fifteen hundred; whilst *Monstrelet*, f. clv, asserts that the number was sixteen hundred. Of these vessels three hundred and twenty had assembled in the port of Southampton, *Cottonian MSS. Claudius*, A viii. f. 2: and the remainder came from the ports adjacent. *Lydgate* speaks of the fleet in the following manner:

" And fro then to Suthampton onto that strand  
For sothe he woldr no longe ther dwell  
xx hundredy shippys redy there he fond  
With riche sayles and heyw tapestels: " *Harl. MSS. 565, f. 104.*

<sup>d</sup> *St. Remy*, p. 82, states, that soon after the king's embarkation, one of his fleet took fire by accident, and that the flames extend to some others near her, three of his largest ships, with all which was on board them were destroyed. When they were nearly consumed, the keel of the first ship flamed out brightly in the water. It was fortunate, he observes, that the mischief was not more extensive, but each vessel fell behind those on fire, for none of them dared to approach them; and he informs us, that the circumstance was deemed an ill omen by many, who therefore advised the king not to proceed, but that he was deaf to such suggestions. If this event really occurred, it is not a little singular that the writer in the text, who as well as the person who styled himself *Titus Livius*, are considered to have been in the expedition, should have been entirely silent on the subject.

<sup>e</sup> 13th August. By "the next day," must be understood the day after they passed the Isle of Wight. *Titus Livius* says

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hour after noon, the king entered the mouth of the Seine, which passes to the sea from Paris, through Rouen and Harfleur, and cast anchor before a place called Kidecaus, about three miles from Harfleur, where he proposed landing: and immediately the signal for council being given, and the captains having assembled in council, he issued an order throughout the fleet, that no one, under pain of death, should land before the king; but that on the morning of the morrow, they were to prepare themselves to accompany him. This was done, lest the ardour of the English should lead them, without consulting danger, to land before it was proper, and they might disperse in search of plunder, and leave

they anchored before "Clef de Caus," the third night after their departure, which if they sailed, as he states before, on the 13th of August, must have been on the 16th; but this is clearly erroneous, for he goes on to say, that on the *day following* the king's landing, he celebrated the feast of the Annunciation, i. e. 15th August. Thus then, to render this writer consistent with himself on the point, we must consider him to state, that Henry quitted England on the 11th, and landed on the 14th; and which is consonant to the account of every other contemporary writer.

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the landing of the king too much exposed. And when the following day dawned, that is on Wednesday, the vigil of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin,<sup>f</sup> the sun shining, and the morning beautiful, between the hours of six and seven, the noble knight, Sir John Holland earl of Huntingdon the king's cousin, having been sent by his desire before day-break, in the stillness of the night, with certain horsemen as scouts to explore the country and place,<sup>g</sup> the king, with the greater part of his army, landed in small vessels, boats, and skiffs, and immediately took up a position on the hill nearest Harfleur, (having on the one side, on the declivity of the valley, a coppice wood towards the river Seine, and on the other

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<sup>f</sup> 14th August.

<sup>g</sup> The note to *Hardyng's Chronicle* before alluded to, informs us that the detachment consisted of John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon, Gilbert Umfreville called Earl of Kyme, John Cromwell, John Grey, William Porter, John Stewarde, with other horsemen; that they were to reconnoitre Harfleur, and to choose a proper situation for the army; and that it was after receiving their report, which was favourable to his wishes, that the king determined upon his measures; and which is also corroborated by *Titus Livius*.

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enclosed farms, and orchards,) in order to rest himself and the army, until the remainder of the people, the horses, and other necessities, should be brought from the ships. The shore and place of our landing was indeed very rough, with large stones, against which the vessels were liable to be dashed; and with smaller stones, fit for slinging, the means of offence to us, and defence to the enemy, if they had resolved to oppose our landing. On the opposite side of the shore, they had made between us and the land, a deep ditch, full of water, with a mud wall of great thickness behind, towards the land, furnished with battlements like the walls of a tower, or castle. And between every dike, the earth was left a cubit in breadth, sufficient only for the ingress, or egress of one person: and thus the space extending from the sea shore, where no landing, without the greatest difficulty, would have been thought of, as far as the marsh towards Harfleur, in distance

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about half a mile or more, was defended with stones, which the bank of the river supplied; and with ditches and fortified walls, which the labour of the French had provided: but either on account of their inactivity, folly, or at least, want of precaution, no opposition was offered; where according to human judgment, the resistance of a few, if they had had the hearts of men, would very likely have repulsed us for a long time, and perhaps for ever. The entrance, indeed, into the marsh was very difficult, both by reason of the ditches and gullies, through which the tide flowed and ebbed, and also on account of the narrow passes, where the resistance of the smallest number of people, would have sufficed to drive back many thousands.

And when towards Saturday,<sup>b</sup> all things necessary for the march, had been brought from the ships, his majesty's royal foresight having in the meanwhile

<sup>b</sup> August 17th. The three days which had elapsed since their arrival, was, as Dr. Lingard suggests, probably occupied in landing the men and *materiel* of the army.



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proclaimed to the army, among other good regulations, that no one, under pain of death, should set fire to any place, (as had been done at the beginning,) that the churches, and sacred place, with their goods, should be left untouched; and that no one should lay hands upon a woman, nor upon a priest, or minister of the people, unless armed, or offering violence or attack;<sup>i</sup> he moved towards the town of Harfleur, with his army disposed in three battalions, and showed himself over against the town, on the ridge of the hill, on one side, in the midst of his division; the remainder being posted as wings to the main body. Indeed on the other side, the approach was difficult, on account of the flowing

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<sup>i</sup> *Titus Livius*' account of the royal proclamation is more minute: "that upon pain of death, [*sub pena lesæ majestatis* in the original,] all churches and hallowed places, and houses, should be kept inviolate, unspoiled, and unarmed, nor that no man should presume to take any hallowed vessel, or other commodity, or ornament pertaining to the altar, nor no books, nor other thing necessary for divine service, and that they should not enforce them to harm any man of the church, that they should not enforce them to find any armour, nor no woman nor child." p. 8, *Harl. MSS.* 35, f. 23.<sup>b</sup>

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and ebbing of the tide, on the one part of the town, and the stream of fresh water running through the valley on the other.<sup>k</sup> This town is situated in the ex-

<sup>k</sup> The narrative of the king's proceedings by *Titus Livius* after he landed, is much more circumstantial. After noticing the apprehension which their invasion produced on the inhabitants of the neighbouring places, who, he remarks, were informed of it by those who fled by the fields, he says, "then forthwith the king falling upon his knees, devoutly prayed unto God, that to the honor of his divinity he would give him justice of his enemies; and at his landing he gave to divers gentlemen the order of knighthood. But first he assigned and committed the bearing of the standards and banners and other ensigns, to such men as he knew to be of great strength and prowess, in the bearing of them. When every thing was thus ordered, in good array the king, with all his host ascended to the top or height of the high hill there nigh unto them, difficult and uneasy for armed men to mount upon. And there the king, with all his host, the next day following solemnized the feast of THE ASSUMPTION of our Blessed Lady with due honor; and that solemnity passed, the Duke of Clarence, chieftain of the king's first ward, in good ordinance, entered his journey with the same ward towards a town called Harflete, distant from Chef de Caux scarcely three leagues, where he lodged in a goodly field before the town, abiding the king's coming. The king at his coming, lodged himself nigh to the first ward, in the plain fields not far from the town. The Earl of Suffolk, chieftain of the second ward, lodged him and his company also before the town, on the other side of the fields, and other noblemen that had the conduct of the two wings, lodged them on the right hand, and the other on the left hand of the host." p. 8.—*Harl. MSS* 35, f. 22-23. To this it is desirable that *Monstrelet's* short narrative of the circumstances should be added. He informs us, that Henry landed without any effusion of blood, and had with him about sixteen hundred vessels, filled with people and necessaries; that when

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tremity of the valley, at the mouth of the river Seine; the sea flows through it beyond the centre of the town, ebbing to the extent of a mile, and further down, the stream of fresh water descends through the middle of the valley, filling the ditches to a great depth and breadth without the walls on that side of the valley, where the king shewed himself, as far as the near bank of the river Seine, which enters into the middle of the city, beneath the walls, by a watergate, and two lateral arched tunnels, opening and closing wholly or in part, at the will of the inhabitants. And within the walls,

they were landed, the king lodged at Gravelle, in a Priory, with the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, his brothers, near him; that the Duke of York, and the Earl of Dorset, his uncles, the Bishop of Norwich, the Earls of Wynesour, [query] Suffolk, Marshall, Warwick and Kyme, the Lord of Cambridge, [the Earl of Cambridge was beheaded about ten days before,] Beaumont, Willoughby, Trompeton, [query Sir Roger Trumpington, see p. 95,] Cornwall, Mollisra, [query Maltravers,] and many others lodged where they best could; and that afterwards they besieged the town of Harfleur, which was the key, towards the sea of all Normandy, and that there was in the king's army, about six thousand bacinets and twenty-four thousand archers, besides gunners, and others using of "flondelles," and engines, of which they had a great abundance," f. clv.

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the streams that enter turn two mills, which served for grinding the food of the citizens and people; passing the mills the water issues forth from the tunnel, and runs in full stream through the middle of the town to the port.

The other side of the town, opposite to the king, is well fortified with a double ditch, of which the interior one is of unknown depth, and the proper breadth. This town is but small, but very fairly fortified, and surrounded with walls embattled, and therefore, according to Master Giles,<sup>1</sup> very difficult to be attacked, and very easily and securely to be defended; with towers lofty and well built, and other lower intermediate

<sup>1</sup> Mr Sharon Turner considers, (*Hist. of England*, ed. 1826, vol. ii. p. 397,) with great probability, that the "Master Giles" alluded to in the text, was the person whose work, entitled "*De Regimine Principum*," was at that time exceedingly popular, and the third book of which treats of military affairs. It was, Mr Turner observes, written before cannon were used, but it recommends, c. 17, that something fiery or ignited should be attached to the stones, which were thrown from machines, to shew by the blaze the state of the place where they fell. A beautiful copy of this work, which is said to have been so generally esteemed, as to have been translated into Hebrew, is preserved in the Harleian Collection, No. 4802.

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defences, having three gates for ingress and egress, one towards the side where the king shewed himself, and two on the opposite side, both of which, on account of the water running in the said ditches, were inaccessible to our approach. And before the entrance of each of these gates, the prudence of the enemy had erected a strong defence, which we term a *Barbican*, but commonly called bulwarks; that towards the king was the strongest and largest, being defended without with round thick trees, nearly to the height of the walls of the town, fastened around, bound, and girded together very strongly. The interior is fortified with a wall of earth and rough hewn beams in the bye-paths and narrow places, for the reception of the enemy, with narrow chinks and places full of holes through which they might annoy us with their tubes, which we in English call *gunnys*, and with arrows, cross-bows, and other offensive weapons. The structure of it was round, containing



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more in diameter than the cast of a stone, with which our common people in England are wont to amuse themselves by the road side: water of great depth and breadth surrounded it, being about two lances length broad in the narrowest part, having a bridge for ingress and egress towards the town, and a little wooden gate, which at the will of the enemy might be either placed or withdrawn, as often as it was thought convenient to sally out upon us. The interior of the town is adorned with handsome buildings, closely built, and one parish church. The port for the reception of ships,<sup>m</sup> and which receives them as far as the middle of the town, is furnished with walls closing on each side of the channel, beyond the walls of the town, with three defences at proper distances. At its entrance are two fine towers, between which the water ebbs and flows, one of which is lofty and

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<sup>m</sup> *Titus Livius* says, that in this port a very large fleet of ships might ride in safety. p. 9. *Harl. MSS.* 35, f. 24.

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very commanding, doubly armed at the top and middle, and the other tower armed only at the top; the chains of each preventing any vessel without license, from passing or repassing between them; which entrance, and a great portion of the wall where the sea was open for vessels at the flowing of the tide, the enemy had prudently previously fortified with stakes and trunks of trees, thicker than a man's thigh, placed in great bodies, both towards the town within and towards the river without; so that if our ships had approached at the flowing of the tide, to make an irruption through the port, or an assault on the walls, the stakes being perceived, they would either withdraw, or not caring for their own safety, the stakes being perchance covered by the flowing of the tide, they would dash themselves upon them, and very likely suffer shipwreck.

And when, as has been before written, our king on the Saturday<sup>a</sup> shewed

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<sup>a</sup> 17th August.

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himself before the town, the army being encamped in fields, enclosed orchards, and other places, as the state of things required it,<sup>o</sup> he issued order for pressing the siege on every side with great vigour; and among other things, for establishing stations of men and beasts of burden, to bring in forage for the sustenance of the army, and for better regulating the watches by day and night, to prevent the sallies and stratagems of the enemy. On the morrow being Sunday,<sup>p</sup> the lord de Gaucort, a Frenchman who was said to have been sent to protect the town by the French council, reinforced the town with about three hundred lances,<sup>q</sup> on the opposite side,

<sup>o</sup> *Titus Livius*, who always speaks of Henry as *Rex Christianissimus*, and omits no opportunity of mentioning his piety, states, p. 9, that when the king planted his tents before Harfleur, he also caused his "great hall," as his translator has rendered it, "to be set upon a hill, at the back of the camp, to serve instead of a church, therein to honor and worship God."

<sup>p</sup> August 18.

<sup>q</sup> *St. Remy*, p. 82, says three hundred. The following is *Monstrelet's* description of the siege. "In this town, besides the inhabitants, there were 115<sup>0</sup> men at arms chosen for its defence, among whom were the lords d'Estoutville, captain of the said town, de p' le roy, de Blainville, de Haqueville, de Her-

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which was yet free to the enemy, and inaccessible to us, on account of the rivers before mentioned. On the night following,<sup>r</sup> by the advice of council, the king sent the illustrious prince Thomas duke of Clarence, his next brother, a soldier not less renowned in the exercise of arms than in personal courage, with part of the army to press the siege on that side,<sup>s</sup> the passing over to which was

manville, de Gaillart bon, de Clerc, de Becton, de Adnaches, de Brian, de Gaucort, de Lisle Adam, and many other valiant knights and esquires, to the amount above stated, who strongly resisted the English, but owing to their great numbers and power, their efforts were unsuccessful, and they were barely able to return within the walls. These lords caused the people to break down the causeway between Monstrilliers and Harfleur, to impede the said way, and the stones of it they brought into the town; but notwithstanding, the English took many prisoners, and much booty, and laid their engines in more convenient places, close to the walls, and immediately threw great stones, by which they were much damaged. The besieged defended themselves bravely with engines and arblastiers, killing many of the English. To the town there are only two gates, that is to say, the gate of Caluënnes, and the gate of Monstrilliers, through which the besieged made many sallies upon the English, who stoutly resisted them." f. cix.

<sup>r</sup> The night of Sunday, 18th August.

<sup>s</sup> The following is *Titus Livius'* account of the circumstance, which is worthy of perusal, from the care with which he notices the attention paid to religious duties. "He then sent his brother Thomas, Duke of Clarence to besiege the town on the other side

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about nine or ten miles round, on account of the roughness of the way, and the dangers of the vallies, and especially that in which Harfluer was situated, the way not being open; for the town, upon the first hearing of our approach, having broken down their bridges, stopped up the current of the stream, which ran

of the river, who accordingly endeavoured to convey his people over the said river or passage, in doing which he had a great skirmish with the inhabitants of the town, but at length the duke put them to flight, and they retreated within the walls. Having succeeded in the attempt, he fixed his tents on that side of the river, which enclosed that part of the town, from the side of the same river, by foot of the hill, unto the banks of the Seine. The duke also set up his great hall upon the hill, at the back of his ward or field, not far from his host, therein to serve God as is aforesaid. And because the river divided the king's field and the duke's they made a ready and sure passage over the same betwixt both fields, to the keeping whereof certain persons were appointed, so that their enemies should do thereto no damage, neither by water nor by land. When all the tents and pavillions, and halls were erected and set up, they seemed a right great and mighty city. The artificers and labourers in the king's host, were employed in their various occupations, some in raising engines against the town, and others in assisting the soldiers, digging trenches, &c. but the priests were not allowed to do any thing besides offering prayers to the honour of God, and performing their accustomed services, as when they were at home in a state of peace. The forces on the other side of the river, were commanded by his brother Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, and on the same side was the duke of York, then constable of England "

p. 9, *Harl. MSS 35, f 25<sup>b</sup>*.



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through the midst of the valley; so that by reason of the stoppage in the town, the water at our approach swelled over all the meadows of the valley, up to the ditches of the walls, in depth not less than the height of a man's thigh, and expanding in breadth more by a quarter than the Thames at London.

On that night<sup>t</sup> the duke seized in his route, some two horse and four horse waggons of the enemy, with guns, vessels of powder, arrows and cross-bows, in great abundance, which were supposed to have come from Rouen for the defence of the city; and on the Monday morning,<sup>u</sup> the sun shining, he shewed himself on the ridge of the mountain on that side, not without dread and terror to the inhabitants. And the siege being now ordered on the side towards the sea by the navy, and on that towards the valley and fresh water stream by the

<sup>t</sup> The night of Sunday, the 18th August. This event is also thus noticed by *Monstrelet*. "Then happened a great misfortune to the besieged, for the shot and powder sent to them by the King of France, was met with and taken by the besiegers" f. clx,<sup>b</sup>

<sup>u</sup> 19 August.

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boats, which served for the access as well of the king as of the duke and divided army, if it should be necessary, our king who sought peace, not war, in order that he might further arm the cause in which he was engaged with the shield of justice, according to the law of Deuteronomy, chap. xx.,<sup>\*</sup> offered peace to the besieged, if they would open the gates to him and restore, as was their duty, freely, without compulsion, that town, the noble hereditary portion of his crown of England, and of his dukedom of Normandy.<sup>†</sup>

But as they, despising and setting at nought this offer, strove to keep pos-

<sup>\*</sup> The affectation of acting upon every occasion in accordance with the Divine Will, and prostituting the Holy Writings to defend or extenuate measures which had their sole origin in the most baleful of all human passions—ambition, has been before commented upon as characteristic of all Henry's proceedings. The allusion in the text appears to be to the 10th verse of the xxth chap of Deuteronomy: "When thou comest nigh to a city to fight against it, then proclaim peace unto it."

<sup>†</sup> *Des Ursins* informs us, that about the 1st of September, the besieged sent a man to the king, whom they let down by night under the walls, to ask for assistance, and that the duke de Guyenne, received the message at St. Denys, on Tuesday, 1st September. p. 292.

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session of, and to defend the town against him, our king summoned to fight, as it were, against his will, called upon God to witness his just cause; and reminded them of the penal law to be inflicted upon a rebellious people, if they should thus finally persist in their obstinacy: yet willing first to use the remedy of a more gentle assault and scourge, by which he might have an eye both to the harrassing of his enemies and the protection of his own men, that if possible the rebellion of his adversaries might be overcome in this way, before he should proceed to greater severities against them, he gave himself no rest by day or night, until having fitted and fixed his engines and guns under the walls, he had planted them within shot of the enemy, against the front of the town, and against the walls, gates, and towers, of the same; and had covered them against the shot and offensive weapons of the enemy, with protecting edifices of tall and thick

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planks, which were so contrived and fitted with timber and iron work, that whilst the upper end was drawn downward, the lower would raise itself towards the front of the city, so that taking aim at the place to be battered, the guns from beneath blew forth stones by the force of ignited powders. On each side of this battery he caused trenches to be made, which served, together with the excavated earth cast up upon faggots placed there, as a protection to them who were appointed to attend the guns and engines, and to those upon the daily and nightly watches, for preventing the sallies of the enemy. He also caused to be constructed similar muniments for those who watched day and night, opposite the enemy's aforesaid strongest bulwark, lest they should sally from the same. And those deputed to this duty were continually and daily digging, heaping the earth towards the bulwark itself; neither did they cease until at

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length they came under it, at least as near the side as they could on account of the water. And in the mean time, our king, with his guns and engines, so battered the said bulwark, and the walls and towers on every side, (at least where the enemy had arrayed their guns and cross-bows towards us,) that within a few days, by the impetuosity and fury of the stones, the same bulwark was in great part broken down; and the walls and towers from which the enemy had sent forth their weapons, the bastions falling in ruins, were rendered defenceless; and very fine edifices, even to the middle of the city, either lay altogether in ruins, or threatened an inevitable fall; or at least were so shaken as to be exceedingly damaged.

And that, amongst these various assaults and defences, I should not be altogether silent in the praise of the enemy,\* who, as long as they

\* *St. Remy* states, that during the siege of Harfleur, many French noblemen were ordered to assemble with from five to six thousand horse as near the English camp as possible, with



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were protected by the said bulwark, and the walls and towers, and even afterwards, concealing themselves, did what hurt and mischief they could with their guns, cross-bows, and engines, through ruins, lattices, and broken holes, and from other parts where there was thought to be no place of refuge. And although our guns had disarmed the bulwark, walls, and towers during the day, the besieged by night, with logs, faggots, and tubs on vessels

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the intention of planting ambuscades, and to send scouts against the besiegers, to induce them to sally out from their encampments. This was accordingly done, and three ambuscades were planted, and scouts ordered to attack the besiegers. Among the scouts were many nobles, including the Lord of L'Isle Adam, and Messire Jaques de Brimen, who were afterwards made knights of the golden fleece, and who were captured on this occasion. The scouts approached the English camp and gave an alarm, and immediately the English horse warmly pursued them, and in consequence of not being ordered to retreat from where they were sent, the scouts were taken. But on that day the English would have suffered severely, had the affair been well conducted, but the Baron de Yury shewed himself too soon, and consequently the English gave up the pursuit, and returned to their camp with little loss. In this attack the Lord of L'Isle Adam, and Messire Jacques de Brimen were captured by the retinue of Lord Robert, a native of Hainault, the which were English, and in the service of the king of England. p. 84.

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full of earth, mud, and sand or stones, piled up above the bulwark and walls, and faggots with clay, earth, and mud, within the shattered walls, and with other barricadoes, refortified the streets; and even stopped up the lanes with this sort of clay, earth and mud, in great thickness; so that the stones of our guns, coming down upon them, might be swallowed up in them, lest the besieged who were in the lanes or streets, should suffer damage, hurt, or death, from the sudden and unexpected violence of the stones, or the fragments of them. They had also warily provided on the walls, an abundance of pots full of combustible powders of sulphur and quick lime, to cast into the eyes of our men, if an assault should be made, and vessels of scorching earth and oils, and fat combustibles, for the burning and destruction of our ranks, when they should approach to the walls for an assault. Nor could the besieged, in the judgment of man, have resisted our

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attacks more prudently, or more cautiously, than they had done.

Whilst these things were going on, the king was to have made an attack by means of mines, extending by a vault through subterranean ways, to have undermined the walls on the side of the duke of Clarence. But this work, which was begun contrary to the opinion of master Giles, in the sight of the enemy, (for on account of the neighbouring hill and other causes, it could not be done otherwise,) being by counter mines and other skilful projects, twice frustrated through the enemy's industry, and already a third time renewed, produced no advantage;<sup>7</sup> unless perhaps that of striking terror

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<sup>7</sup> *Titus Livius'* account of these counter-mines is worthy of being extracted - "At the meeting of the miners under ground, was a cruel and deadly conflict. But finally the Englishmen were frustrated of their intent, and were compelled to desist from their enterprise, and partly by the king's command, because his people had great loss therein; and that work so remained, until the king allowed them to finish their plan, notwithstanding they daily encountered their enemies in the mine, and most manfully fought in the same. And thus the mine, which was begun for the sudden invasion of the town, was changed into the field for knightly deeds." p. 11, *Harl. MSS* 35, f. 26<sup>b</sup>.

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into the besieged, which might induce them to surrender the town sooner, or by delaying the assault, and scaling of the walls, it might thus be the preservation of human blood, and perhaps was the cause of greater good.

Our king had caused faggots of ten feet in length, to be carried by the army, for the filling up of the ditches on his side; also towers and wooden bulwarks to the height of the walls, and ladders and other instruments, besides those which he had brought with him for the assault. But on the part of the duke of Clarence faggots of this kind were prepared, and piled up into very large heaps for the filling up of the ditches on that side. But the contrivance of the enemy for setting them on fire and our people too, when they were together in the ditches, by means of powders and combustibles prepared on the walls, having been observed, that project ceased. Yet they served for screens to our people at the foot of the hill

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And after these works and hostile movements, the gracious and merciful God, willing to try the patience of our

"The blessing of peace, beloved of God and nature, to which after the example of our Lord Jesus Christ, which he left to his disciples, and gave to us as a legacy, we have always sought and desired by every means in our power, and which for the honor of God, we desire most earnestly to procure, for the advantages which attend it and to avoid the effusion of human blood, and the innumerable evils produced by war. As these things we believe are clear and manifest to you, your council, and others, you have occasioned us great surprise, and not without cause, after the overtures and other points discussed between your people and ours with the firm intention of establishing peace, by having hostilely invaded our country with an armed force, and thus destroying the hopes of peace, to the great sin of your party. And as we never did refuse justice, nor shall we if it please God, to all who shall demand it of us; as it is lawful for every Prince in his just quarrel to defend himself, and to oppose force by force, and as none of your predecessors ever had any right, and you still less, to make the demand contained in certain of your letters and replies, presented to us by Chester your herald, nor to give us any trouble, it is our intention with the assistance of our Lord, in whom we have singular trust, and especially from the justice of our cause, and also with the aid of our good relations, friends, allies, and subjects, to resist you in a way which shall be to the honour and glory of us and of our kingdom, and to the confusion, loss, and dishonor of you and your party. Respecting the marriage of which you write at the end of your letters, it does not appear that the means which you have adopted to make a request or demand, and especially of affinity or marriage, is proper, honorable, or usual in such a case; and therefore we will not write you upon any other matter at present, but send you this letter in answer to those which you wrote us by the said Chester. Given at Paris, the 24th day of August, the year 1415." *Des Ursins*, p. 291.



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king, and of his anointed, besides the death of some other nobles of his army, touched him in the death of one of his most loving and dear subjects; namely, the Lord Richard Courtenay, bishop of Norwich; who of noble family, of tall stature, of excellent wit, and not less distinguished for the greatest eloquence and learning, than for other of the more noble endowments of nature, was considered to be a constant favorite in the royal councils above all. He fell sick on Tuesday, the tenth of September, of a bloody flux, and on the following Sunday,\* in the presence of the king, who covered

\* 15th September. Richard Courtenay, bishop of Norwich, was the eldest son of Sir Philip Courtenay, of Powderham Castle, in Devonshire, and grandson of Hugh Courtenay, earl of Devon, by Margaret, daughter of Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, by Elizabeth Plantagenet, daughter of Edward the First, and was consequently distantly related to the king. This celebrated prelate was educated under his uncle William, archbishop of Canterbury, who adopted him as his son. He was a student of Oxford, and became famous for his learning, especially for his knowledge of civil and canon law. He became successively, dean of St. Asaph, canon of York, chancellor of Oxford, dean of Wells, and on the 11th September, 1413, bishop of Norwich, *Esch.* 7 Hen. IV. *La Neve's Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, and *Collins' Peerage*, vol. vi. p. 254.

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his feet after extreme unction, and closed his eyes with his own hands, amidst the bitterness and tears of many, released his spirit from its prison: and our king out of his tender affection, quickly sent him over into England, to be honorably interred in the royal cemetery at Westminster. And on the same day happened another thing, which was also sufficient to have moved the mind of the king: for our enemies, who guarded the strongest bulwark, made a sally upon our guard opposite them, and from the inadvertence and carelessness of our men, set their fortifications on fire. But at length, by the will of God, the fire was extinguished, and the enemy were put to flight, without great damage to our men. Yet the enemy infected us with sleep and inactivity, and we were not able to keep better watch.

And because good things are neighbours to bad, and sweet things commonly succeed to bitter, God remembered us on the morrow, and held forth to us the

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palm of victory over the same bulwark, which the proud French always considered invincible: for the aforesaid John Holland, earl of Huntingdon,<sup>b</sup> a strenuous and enterprising, though young soldier, commanding our guard opposite to it, and having in the afternoon engaged with the French, who sallied out upon the guard, but were routed, raging fire had at length been hurled against them by a dart, and the men had directed their industry and strength in attacking that part which had before been shattered by the stones from the guns, and was therefore made more liable to take fire: our soldiers therefore continually feeding the flame with combustible powders, at length gained the strongest part of the bulwark, through the ditch which

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<sup>b</sup> The note to *Hardyng's Chronicle* states, that the sally was made upon the earls of Huntingdon and Kyme, John Cornwall, William Bourchier, John Gray, William Porter and John Steward, noble knights, who with their lances and bowmen, fought and overcame them in a severe conflict, killing many and forcing the rest to fly into the bastion of the city; and sent raging fire by darts to recover that bastion, where they placed their standard upon the walls.

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was between them and the bulwark, and which the king's industry had caused to be filled up with the said long fascines, under the silence and shelter of night. And immediately having sent in the banner of the said earl, they set it on fire in the middle, where the strength of the French was greater; and the French themselves who were overcome, still resisting and busied in extinguishing the fire, until at length by force of arms, darts, and flames, their strength was destroyed. Leaving the place therefore to our party, they fled and retreated beneath the walls for protection; most carefully blocking up the entrance with timber, stones, earth, and mud, lest our people should rush in upon them through the same passage; spreading great confusion over them, and no small joy on ourselves. Although our men laboured with all diligence and exertion to extinguish the raging fire, yet for two or three days the flames could not be wholly got under, and even

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for a fortnight the smoke kept burning from the ruins.<sup>c</sup>

On the following day, a conference was held with the aforesaid lord de Gaucort, who acted as captain, and with the more powerful leaders, whether it was the determination of the inhabitants, still remembering the penalties of Deuteronomy, to surrender the town, without suffering farther rigour of death or war. But the king, seeing his terms despised, and that they could not be overcome by the distress occasioned by a milder mode of attack, determined to proceed with more rigour against a people, whose obstinacy neither alluring kindness, nor destructive severity could soften.

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<sup>c</sup> During the siege the king ordered such of his ships as were unfit for service to England, whilst the serviceable ones were sent to blockade the mouth of the harbour of Harfleur: and those vessels which were appointed to convey engines and ordnance, he directed to remain at the entrance of the harbour with the others. The besieged, finding themselves surrounded as well by sea as by land, conveyed all their ships within the haven, bound them together with chains, and made numerous attempts to attack the English fleet, but were always repulsed. *Titus Livius.*



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Towards night, therefore, he caused proclamation by trumpet to be made in the midst of the squadrons, that all the mariners, as well as the others on the station assigned them by their captains, should be prepared on the morrow to storm and mount the walls, which had been rendered by the shot of our guns more adapted for this and for our protection; but much more unfit for the enemy to make resistance, or even to protect themselves from destruction. Towards night he began to assail them more than usual with stones, that he might prevent them from sleeping, and therefore render them on the morrow more easy to conquer. But God himself, propitious and merciful to his people, sparing the effusion of blood which probably would have been shed in storming the walls, turned away from us the sword, and struck terror into our enemies; who were probably broken-hearted on account of the loss of the said bulwark, and hearing they were so suddenly to be charged and stormed;

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and also at the penalties of the law of Deuteronomy, if the fortified town be recovered from them while making resistance; and perplexed and harassed by the stones, and almost despairing of being rescued by the French, which they had expected long beyond the promised time. On that night<sup>d</sup> they entered into a treaty with the king, that if he would deign to defer the assault, and would refrain from harassing and oppressing them with stones, they would surrender to him the town, and themselves, and their property, if the French king, or the dauphin, his first-born, being informed, should not raise the siege and deliver them by force of arms, within

<sup>d</sup> The besieged sent to the duke of Clarence in the night, desiring him to prevail on the king to grant them terms, and appoint persons to treat with them, and who accordingly sent the earl of Dorset, lord Fitz-Hugh, and sir Thomas Erpingham, for that purpose. They first asked a cessation of arms, until the Sunday following the feast of St Michael, and if by that time they were not succoured by the king or dauphin, they would surrender the town; but upon the king replying, that they must surrender at discretion by the next morning, they entreated for a cessation of hostilities until the following Sunday, upon the conditions they had before asked, which was agreed to, &c. as in the text. *Walsyngham*, p. 437-438.

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the first hour after noon on the Sunday following.\*

\* The following account of this conference, is given by the writer whose narrative is preserved in the *Cottonian MS. Cleopatra, C. iv. f. 22.* "The Frensshmen come owte on save condyte to entrete with the kyng for thei my no longer well holde the towne. And thei was here askynge of ovr kyng that of the honowre of his hye kynghode and as he was most worthi kyng, and prynce of all cristen graunte him his grace, that thei muste sende message to the frenssh kyng, to wete of hym whether he wolde rescu hem or not, and but the frenssh kyng wolde resku hem by ij dayes ende after that thei had spoke with the frenssh kyng, thei to zelde vp that towne to ovr kyng, and do with hem what he wolde, both with her body and with her gode. Ovr kyng answerde and saide, that the day that thei askyd was to shorte, and so the kyng gaf hem day til the sonday next saynge, that was the ferthe day after at twayn after none. And thei to plegges and ostage on the same condicion; and so was laide in ostage the lorde of Totvyle, the lorde Declerc de Chastlayne. Benles, de Blosset, sir Benet de lengchampe, sir John de Maleville, sir Charle de Toutscalen, sir Caredes de Quossnes, sir Jakes de Beawcomelere. Yesc bene the names of gentilmen, marchavntes, and grete men of the tonne; William de Porte, Tomasyn de Esars, Malerve, John Herrad, Estephan Esquehart, Guilla' de Bowchere, Loryn Robyn, Alyne Lygnee, Johan Brabut, Robynet Lambert, Robyn Wilkyn, Johan de Marye, Phelup' le Duc, Guilmot Guilhae, Colenet Langleys, Guilham de Bufreve, Jaquelyn le Bochere, Colyn Gabort, Roby' Lambart, Guilem le Muson', Oliver Gilhaut, Guilham de Boys, Guilham Lamy, Colyn le Cut, Guilleam Russett, Sampson P'ton, Thomasyn Hay, Aquelyn d Burdoux, Guilham Cesto, Robyn Corralle, Bertram Querr. These bethe the names of hem that were put to ye kepyng of the tonne by the chesyng of the Frensch men unto ye forsayde sonday, and els bat thei were rescuede elles to zelde upe the kuyes to the kyng of Inglonde; the lorde Gaucorte, the lorde of Osbose, the lorde of Blaunvile, the lorde of Sevale, the lorde of Flory, the lorde of Haquevile, the lorde of

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And this favorable offer being accepted, notwithstanding it displeased the covetousness of several, though only those who had purposed following to the spoils after the deaths and wounds of the front ranks. On the following day, viz. Wednesday the xvijth of the said month of September, indentures of covenant were made between the Commissioners on the part of the king, and the person acting as captain aforesaid, and the more powerful of the town, and they pledged mutual oaths upon the Lord's body, which the venerable father, lord Benedict bishop of Bangor<sup>f</sup> chaplain of the king's suite,<sup>g</sup> preceded by the whole

Seme, the lorde of Colernas de Bochervill, the lorde of Handcote, the lorde Charles de Toutville, the lorde Estuphuoot, the lorde de Larses, the lorde Hew de Sapinos, the [query lord] Russel de Seme, Matilet Hang'vile, the lord Buryan Martill, Bele Garbe, Compayne Wude de Coulers, the lord Sturbelvall, the lord Robyn de la Porte, Rogeryn Blosset, Sir Aodut de Chalounes, Abdinet de la Brawnche."

<sup>f</sup> Benedict Nichols. He obtained the temporalities of the See of Bangor 22nd July, 1408, and was translated to St. David's 15th December, 1417. He died in 1433. *Le Neve's Fasti Ecclesie Anglicane*.

<sup>g</sup> This ceremony is thus described by *Des Ursins*. The bishop of Norwich entered the town, dressed in his pontifical habits, attended by thirty-two chaplains in their surplices,

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chapel in procession in hoods, had at the king's command, brought for this purpose just under the walls, xxiiij hostages<sup>h</sup> of the more noble and substantial amongst them, having been given, and one soldier on the part of the city having been sent according to agreement, to announce these things to the

amices and copes, which copes were all of silk, and of the same colour. There were also thirty-two esquires dressed alike, and before each chaplain, one of the said esquires bore a lighted torch. The bishop administered the oath to the said hostages, that those of the town should surrender on the appointed day. The English said to the good people of Harfleur, 'do not be afraid, or suspect that we should do you harm, our Lord the King of England does not wish to ruin his country, he will not do to you as they did at Soissons; we are good christians;' and the said oaths being taken, they departed. p. 295.

<sup>h</sup> "These beth the names of men of the town of Harflew, that were laide in Ostage the xvijth day of Septembre, for the zeldynge of the towne, but zif it were rescoued by soday next suyng by on afternone; first the lorde of Totevyle, the lorde of Clero, de Chasteleyn Bennis, the lorde Blosset, sir Benet de Lenchampe, sir John de Malavyle, sir Charles de Tontacalem, sir Carades de Quissows, sir Jakes de Beucomeler." *Cleopatra*, C. iv f. 23. The terms of capitulation, according to *Titus Livius* were, that they should deliver into Henry's hands the town, with thirty of the principal persons, such as the king should name, to be placed at his disposal; and that all the others, as well soldiers as inhabitants, might freely depart where they pleased, leaving behind them their goods; as security for the fulfilment of these conditions, they left twelve hostages, p. 10, *Harl. MSS.* 35, f. 27<sup>b</sup>



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French king or the dauphin.<sup>i</sup> The hostile weapons on both sides, and the warlike engines were silenced, until the day and hour appointed. And on the same day, Wednesday, died in that siege, a knight of excellent and most cherished name, lord Michael Pole, earl of Suffolk;<sup>k</sup> leaving behind him in the host, a young heir of twenty-one years, distinguished amongst all the courtiers, for strength, bravery, and activity.

And neither at the aforesaid hour on the following Sunday,<sup>l</sup> nor within the time, the French king, the dau-

<sup>i</sup> The besieged sent the lord of Hacqueville, with divers others, to the king of France and the duke of Aquitaine, who were at Vernon sur Seine, to announce their situation and necessities, and to entreat that assistance might be sent within three days, or he would lose the town; but they were briefly informed that the king's forces had not assembled, and were not ready to give them assistance, whereupon the lord Hacqueville returned to Harfleur, which was put into the hands of the king of England, on St Maurice's day, i. e. 22nd September, to the great and piteous sorrow of the inhabitants and of France, for as is said before, it was the chief sea port of all the dutchy of Normandy. *Monstrelet*, f. clx.

<sup>k</sup> Some account of the earl, as well of his son and successor, who was killed at the battle of Agincourt, will be found in the Biographical Notices towards the end of the volume.

<sup>l</sup> 22nd September.

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phin, nor any one else coming forward to raise the siege, our king, clad in gold and *caparsites*, immediately ascended his royal throne, placed under a pavilion at the top of the mountain, before the town; where his nobles and the principal persons, an illustrious body of men, were assembled in numbers, in their best equipments; his crowned triumphal helmet being held on his right hand upon a halbert-staff, by Sir Gilbert Humfrevill, knight. The aforesaid lord de Gaucort came from the town into his presence, accompanied by those persons<sup>m</sup> who before had sworn to keep the articles; and surrendering to him the keys of the corporation, submitted themselves together with the citizens, to his grace. And when the keys were thereupon received, according to royal command, by the earl Marshal, the king promised the said lord de Gaucort, that although he himself and his associates had, in opposition

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<sup>m</sup> The note to *Hardyng's Chronicle* informs us that Gaucort was attended by thirty-four persons.

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to God and all justice, kept from him his town, as being a noble portion of his inheritance, yet in consideration of their submission to his mercy, although it was late, they should not altogether go without grace, which nevertheless he said he was willing to allow from deliberate counsel.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Another description of this interesting scene is preserved: "And when the Embassatores were come fro the frenssh kyng on the sonday at her owr as her acorde was, our kyng was in his tent, with his lordes and with his gentel a, and sat in his estate as Ryale as ded ever eny kyng, and as it is saide there was never crystyn kyng so Ryall, nother so lordly sat in his see as dide he. And the kyng had asynede certayn lordes and knyghtes to take hem ine, and to bryng hem to for the kyng; and when the Frensshmen were come, a knyght in the myddys of hem browght the keyes in his hondys, and when thei come to the tentys, thei knelyd all down togederys, but there had thei no syzt of the kyng, and then thei were broght into other tents, and there thei knelyd down eft sonys along tyme, but syzt of our kyng hade thei none, and there thei were take up and broght into an inner teute, and there thei knelyd down along tym, and zit sey not our kyng, and than thei were este toke up and broght there owre kyng was, and there thei knelyd longe tyme, and then our kyng wolde note rewardc hem with non eye til thei hade longe knelyd, and then the kyng gaf hem a rewardc with his loke, and made a continaunce to the Erle of Dorzete, that he schold take of hem the keyes, and so he dede, and there were the Frenssh men taken up and mad chere; and thus hade our kyng the town delivered, and made thereof the Erle of Dorzet, Captayn." *Cleopatra*, C. iv. f. 24. *Titus Livius'* description of the ceremony differs a little from that of the other writers. He

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And then he sent him with his company and the hostages, who were present, and had been led into his tent, in all lxxvj, and entertained them magnificently enough, at the approaching supper, with what dainties he had;° after supper dividing and committing them to the care of certain of his confidants. But soon after the keys were given and surrendered, and then the banners of St.

informs us that on the day on which the town was surrendered, the king's pavillion of silk was erected in the fields, from which a passage was formed of armed Englishmen to the town, through which [here the translator has added, on the day of appointment, which was the day of St. Maurice, i. e. 22nd September,] Sir Lionel Braquemont, a noble knight and governor of Harfleur, came to the king, and kneeling before him, said, 'most victorious prince, behold, here are the keys of this town, which agreeable to our promise, we yield unto you, me and my company.' Then were brought unto the king by his commands, the lord Hoteville, and the lord Gaucourt, and others, to the number of thirty persons, as had been agreed upon, and all the others, as well soldiers as inhabitants, were suffered unarmed to go freely at their pleasure. p. 11, *Harl. MSS.* 35, f. 28.

° On the morrow the hostages, with twenty-two knights, and esquires, and principal citizens, came to the camp in solemn procession, having the host carried before them, and after having taken their promised oath, they were entertained in the king's tent, where they dined, the King not being present: after dinner they were separated and committed to the charge of several persons, who were strictly ordered to treat them honourably. *Walayngham*, p. 438.

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George and the king, were fixed upon the gates of the town, and the rest of the adversaries having been taken, the king advanced his illustrious uncle, the lord Thomas Beaufort, earl of Dorset, to be keeper and captain of the town, having delivered to him the keys. On the morrow<sup>p</sup> he entered with his friends to view the town, the people, and its contents;<sup>q</sup> and he caused the women, with

<sup>p</sup> Monday, 23rd September. *Des Ursins* states, that on the Monday, one of the king's brothers entered Harfleur in great pomp, and caused all those who would not swear fealty, to be sent to England. He went from house to house, mounted on a small horse, commanding that every thing should be delivered up to him, upon pain of being hung. He asked nothing of any man who was not found armed, and allowed all men of the church, and all women, to be clad in their best apparel, and to carry with them what they pleased without making a bundle, and it was forbidden to search the priests, or the bosoms of the women. More than 1500 women thus left, and when they were without the town, near to St Albin, they brought them bread, wine, and cheese, and wished them to drink. The English escorted them as far as Lislebonne, where the Marshal Boucicant provided for them, and the next day sent them to Rouen.

<sup>q</sup> When Henry came to the gates of Harfleur, he dismounted from his horse, and took off his shoes and stockings, and in this manner went to the church of St Martin, the parish church of the town, where he solemnly gave thanks to God for his success. After which he made prisoners of all the nobles and armed men, and soon afterwards took a list in writing of their names, and then allowed them to go on their parole, that they



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the poor, the children and infants, to be separated from those who had sworn fealty to him, and from others who were thought proper to be kept as slaves to be redeemed.<sup>r</sup> On the day following<sup>a</sup> he

would surrender themselves on St. Martin's day, November 10th, at Culais. Several citizens were made prisoners, who redeemed themselves by great ransoms, and were then sent out of the town, together with a great many women and children, to each of whom were given five sols, and part of their clothes. Two very strong towers near the sea, held out for two days after the town had surrendered, and then yielded on the same terms as the others. *St. Remy*, p. 84, *Monstrelet*, f. clvii.

<sup>r</sup> The account of the siege of Harfleur by an anonymous chronicler, who has been before cited, is entitled to attention, from his detailing some facts not noticed by any of his contemporaries, and from the allusion to the story of the tennis balls. "And so went hym forth to barefete and beseged the toune all aboute, by londe and eke by water, and sent to the Capiteyne of the toune, and charged hym for to delyuer the toune. And the Capitayne said that he noue delivered hym, ne noue he wold to hym yeld, but bad hym done his best. And than oure kyng laid his ordinaunce on to the toune, that is for to say Gounes, Engynes, and Tappgetes, and shetten, and cast to the walles, and eke unto the toune, and cast doune both tours and toune, and laid hem unto the ground. And there he plaid at tenys with his hard gonne stones. And they that were within the toune whan they shuld play, ther song was well away and allus that ever any suche tenys balls were mad, and cursed all tho that werre beganne, and the tyme that ever they were borne. And on the morow the kyng did crie at every gate of the toune, that every man shuld be redy on the morow erly, to make assaute unto the

<sup>a</sup> Tuesday, 24th September.

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dismissed them from the town, to the

towne. And Willyam Bouchire, and Iohn Graunte, w<sup>th</sup> 20 other worthy Burgeis, comen to the kyng, and besought hym of his riall princehode and powre, to w<sup>th</sup>drawe his malice and distruccion that he dyd unto hem, and besought hym of viij daies respite and trewes yf any rescue myght come un to heym, and elles to yelde up the towne unto hym wyth all hir goodes. And the kyng sent forth the capytayn, and kepte the remanent styll w<sup>th</sup> hym. And the lorde Gaucorte, that was capytayne of the towne, went forth to Rone, in all hast un to the dolphyn for helpe and socour. But there was none ne no man' of rescue, for the dolpyne wold not abyde. And thus this capytayne come ayne un to ye kyng, and yelde up the towne, and delyvered hym the keies; and than he called his uncle, the Erle of Dorsett, and made hym capytayne of the towne of Harflete, and delyveryd the cases, and bad hym goune to put oute all the frenssh peple, both men and women and children, and stuffyd this towne of Harflete with English men. And than the kyng sent in to Englonde, and did crie in every goode town of Englonde, that what crafty man wolde come thedyr and inhabite hym there in that town, he shulde have house and housholde to hym and to his heires for evermore. And so went many diverse marchauntes and crafty men, and inhabited hem there to strength the town, and wer welcome " *Claudian*, A. viii. f. 2, 3. To this account, the narrative of Hardyng is an acceptable addition: though from his having described the earl of Dorset as *duke of Exeter*, it is certain that it was not written until above a year after the period he describes. "The ccciii Chapter. Howe the kyng went into Normandy, and sieged Harflete, and gate it with great peyn and losse of menne; but who maye cast of rennyng hou'dis, and many raches, but he must lose some of them

The kyng held furth by sea to Normandy,  
With all his hoste at Kydcaus landed they  
And laied a siege to Harflete myghtely  
On every side by land and water wanne,  
With bu werkes stoute and bastell he began,  
In whiche he putte therle of Huntynghon,  
Therle of Kent also of great renowne

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interior parts of France, to go where they pleased, in number about two thousand, and amidst much lamentations, wretchedness, and tears, for the loss of their accustomed though unlawful habitation; and caused them to be conducted with an armed force beyond the limits of the army, lest they should be molested on their way by our free-booters, who indulge in pillage more than piety, and regarded not the tears of the harmless, provided they may have plunder. Then by the true judgment of God, they were

¶ Which erles two, w<sup>th</sup> other to theim assigned  
Cornwall and Gray, Steward also, and Porter,  
Full great assautes made eche daye and repurned,  
Whiles at last thei bette the towne toures their,  
And what the kyng with fagottes that there were;  
And his connyng werching under the wall,  
With his gunnes castyng thei made y<sup>e</sup> toure to fall:

¶ And their bulwerke brent with shot of wildfyre,  
At whiche place then ther'es twoo up sette  
Their baners bothe without any hyre;  
The kyng ther with his gonnes the walles bette,  
The duke did so of Clarence without lette,  
On the ferre side, wher as he then laye,  
Ther's Mountagne did well ther alwaye.

¶ The lord Gawcort, that then was [their capitain]  
Of Hareflete, tho with other of the towne,  
Offred then the towne to the kyng full fain,  
And he with other [to] stand at the kynges direccion:  
Then made he there his uncle of greate renoume,  
Capitain of it, duke of Excester than,  
And homeward went through France like a man. p. 375.

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proved to be sojourners, where they thought themselves inhabitants.

On the following Friday,<sup>t</sup> the king permitted the aforesaid lord de Gaucort to depart, with several of the captives of the town, besides citizens, lx knights, and more than two hundred other gentry, nearly all the nobility from that part of Normandy, as far as the borders of Picardy. But he dismissed them with this object in view, that perhaps by their exertions and means the desired peace might be more quickly made up. It was secured, however, under indentures and covenants, by oaths and other solemnities, that they should return and surrender themselves as faithful captives, at Calais, on the feast of St. Martin in the winter,<sup>u</sup> to the Lord the king himself, or to his lieutenant or special deputy. Certain other conditions were affixed, which together with the other conventions about the surrender of Harfleur, reduced to authentic writings, you

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<sup>t</sup> September 27th.

<sup>u</sup> November 10th.

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will find in the book of the Records.\* And our king, that he might search out and find every means which seemed to tend to the preservation of both his own and his adversary's people, sent a herald by name Guyenne, with the aforesaid lord de Gaucort to the first born of his adversary, the Dauphin, not choosing to send to the adversary himself, because his mind was afflicted with his accustomed malady; to intimate to him that he had been expecting, and still should expect him at his town of Harfleur, for the eight days then following, requesting him to signify by his answer within that

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\* Of the surrender of Harfleur, *Des Ursins*, p. 294 says, there were many accounts, some of which he gives; among others, that it was taken by assault, and that whilst one part of the English army were storming it, another division obtained entrance by a gate, which by evil disposed persons was opened to them; that such of the inhabitants as were ill, were allowed to depart upon their parole, but that the greater part of them died as soon as they were outside the walls. One of his statements agrees very nearly with that in the text, but it would be useless to repeat those vague stories which he himself confesses were mere reports. *Titus Livius* informs us, that after the conquest of the town, the king commanded all the booty found within it to be divided amongst his army, to every man according to his degree and merit, together with the horses, of which there were a great number.



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time, whether he was yet grieved at the loss of human blood, and would cause his right to be allowed him without farther obstinacy, and come to peace with him; or at least sparing the multitude that controversy, (which was long ago excited, then intermitted, and now raised up afresh, but still undecided,) about the right and dominion of the kingdom; and having made certain legal securities and conditions, to be established by the council of both kingdoms, without any other spilling of brotherly blood, they should come to a point between themselves, person to person in single combat.\* But eight days having elapsed

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\* Henry's challenge to the Dauphin to decide their quarrel by single combat, is preserved in the *Fœdera*, and of which the following is a translation :

"Henry by the grace of God, King of England and of France, and Lord of Ireland, to the high and puissant Prince, the Dauphin of Vienne, our cousin, eldest son of the most puissant Prince, our cousin and adversary of France. As, for the reverence of God, and to save the effusion of human blood, we have many times, and in many ways, sought peace, and notwithstanding that we have not been able to obtain it, our desire to possess it increases more and more. And well considering that the effects of our wars are destruction of countries, the deaths of men, lamentations of women and children,

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without the return of the said herald,  
nor any other messenger, the king in

and so many general evils, that every good christian must lament it and have pity, and we especially, whom this matter more concerns, to seek diligently for all possible means to avoid the above-mentioned evils, and to acquire the approbation of God, and praise of the world. Whereas we have considered and reflected, that it has pleased God to visit our said cousin your father, with infirmity; that with us and you lies the remedy, and to the end that every one may know that we do not prevent it, we offer to place our quarrel, at the will of God, between our person and your's. And if it should appear to you that you cannot agree to this offer on account of the interest which you think our said cousin your father has in it, we declare to you that if you are willing to accept it and to do what we propose, it pleases us to permit that our said cousin, from the reverence of God and that he is a sacred person, shall enjoy that which he at present has for the term of his life, whatever it may please God to happen between us and you, as it shall be agreed between his council, our's, and your's. Consequently, if God shall give us the victory, the crown of France with its appurtenances shall be immediately rendered to us without difficulty, as our right after his decease, and so that all the lords and estates of the kingdom of France shall be bound in manner as shall be agreed between us. For it is better for us, Cousin, to decide this war for ever between our two persons, than to suffer the unbelievers by means of our quarrels to destroy christianity, our mother the Holy Church to remain in division, and the people of God to destroy one another. And we pray that you may have such anxious desire to avoid them, and to seek for peace, that you will neglect no means by which it can be obtained. And we trust in God, that a better or shorter way of effecting it cannot be found; and therefore in discharge of our soul, and in charge of your's, if great evils follow, we propose to you what is above said. Protesting always that we make this our offer, for the honor and fear of God, and for the reasons above mentioned, of our own motion without our loyal re-

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the mean time made arrangements for the repairing and custody of the said town, and having placed under the captain certain barons and knights, skilful in affairs of war, with ccc lances, and nine hundred archers on pay, he proposed to pursue the march which he had before determined on, through the dukedom of Normandy, towards his town of Calais, which was said to be more than a hundred English miles distant from that place. But since both our nobles and others had been carried off in far greater numbers by the bloody flux, than by the sword, and many of the remaining people had been so dreadfully afflicted and disabled by it, as not to be able to proceed, he caused the sick to

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lions, counsellors, and subjects being around us, having in so high a matter dared to advise us; nor can it at any time to come be urged to our prejudice; nor in prejudice of our good right and title which we have at present to the said crown with its appurtenances, nor to the good right and title which we now have to other our lands and heritages on this side the sea; nor to our heirs and successors, if this our offer does not take full effect between us and you, in the manner above said. Given under our Privy Seal, at our town of Harfleur, the xvi day of September." Vol. ix. p. 313.

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be separated from the healthy, and permitted them to retire into England;<sup>2</sup> their number being about five thousand, besides those who had died, and those who had been appointed for the custody of the town, and those who had inhumanly forsaken, or rather deserted their King before, and returned by stealth into England: so that of the residue of the army, there remained fit for drawing the sword or for battle, not above nine hundred lancers, and five thousand archers.<sup>3</sup> And although the

\* *Walsingham* says, that the duke of Clarence, John earl Marshall, John earl of Arundel, the earl of March, who was ill of the flux, and the earl of Warwick, then returned to England; and *Le Fevre*, p. 84, adds, that the French prisoners were sent at the same time, including the lords d'Estouteville and de Gaucourt; who with the plunder found in Harfleur, were embarked on board the ship which brought Henry to France, together with a number of sick people, including the duke of Clarence, and the earl of Arundel. He likewise states, that Henry's loss during the siege amounted to five hundred knights and esquires, besides those who died of disease.

<sup>2</sup> *Monstrelet*, f. clxii informs us, that 500 men at arms, and 1000 archers, were left to garrison Harfleur, of which sir John Blount was captain; and that Henry's army when he left Harfleur, consisted of 2000 men at arms, and 13,000 archers, with a great number of other persons: whilst the anonymous chronicler in *Harl. MSS.* 585, states that the king "toke his way from Harfleur, towards his towne of Caley, with the nombre of viij M

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king was dissuaded by the greatest part of his council from his design, as full of perils, if he should thus advance with his army, which was daily decreasing, amidst the multitude of the French, who were continually increasing; and who very likely might hem them in on every side, as sheep in pens; yet our king, relying upon the divine grace, and the righteousness of his cause, piously considering that victory consists not in multitudes, but belongs to Him who can shut up many in the hand of a few, and who bestows victory upon whom he will, whether by many or by few, God granting the dukedom as it is believed,<sup>2</sup> determined on that march, a journey of eight days.<sup>2</sup> And commanding the army to

fytyngmen." All French writers, as will be noticed hereafter, excepting *St. Remy*, rate the English forces at a much greater number.

<sup>2</sup> "Prebente deo ducatum ut creditur."

\* The king appointed his uncle Thomas, Earl of Dorset, captain of the town, with *two thousand* soldiers to defend it. He then held a council to deliberate on their future proceedings, when it was determined, that as winter was approaching, they should return to England; but it was disputed whether they should return by sea, or pass through the enemy's country



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furnish themselves with victuals for eight days, on the Tuesday before the feast of Saint Denys, on the nones of October,<sup>b</sup> he commenced his march, constant

to Calais. The greater part of the council agreed to the latter, but the duke of Clarence, with many other lords, considering the great loss of men which they had experienced by the flux; that many were still ill of the same disease; that they had left a great part of their forces for the defence of Harfleur, and especially, remembering the infinite multitude of the enemy's army collected to oppose them, advised the king to return by sea. But Henry replied to his arguments, 'that he was desirous of seeing those lands, which ought of right to belong to him; and though,' he observed, 'they prepare against us a great host of people, our trust is in God, that they shall not prevail against us. Nor shall we permit those who are inflated by pride, wrongfully to enjoy what by right belongs to us. If we should thus depart, they would reproach us and our realm of England, that we suddenly fled, and lost our right from fear. Our mind is therefore prepared to endure every peril rather than they shall be able to breathe the slightest reproach against your king. We will go, if it pleases God, without harm or danger, and if they disturb our journey, we will frustrate their intentions with honor, victory, and triumph.' *Titus Livius*, p. 12, *Harl. MSS.* 35, f. 30<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> The *nones* of October, is the 7th of that month, but if Henry left Harfleur on the Tuesday before the feast of St. Dennis, it must have been on the *eighth*. The note to *Hardyng's Chronicle* informs us, that the king set out for Calais on *Tuesday, the first of October*, which is also asserted by the anonymous chroniclers in the *Cottonian MSS.* *Claudianus A viii Cleopatra*, C. iv. and *Harl. MSS.* 565, and which is not only supported by the fact, that the first of October in 1415, fell on a *Tuesday*, but by the date of a letter, noticed in a subsequent page, from Sir Thomas Bardolf, written at Calais on the *seventh* of October, from which it is almost certain that Henry must have been on

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and intrepid, notwithstanding the smallness of his army, which however was disposed skilfully enough in three battalions, leaving the town of Monstre de Villiers distant about two miles from Harfleur, at half a mile on his right.<sup>c</sup> He ordered, amongst other pious and honorable regulations, that no one, under pain of death, should burn, lay waste, or take any thing, excepting victuals and

his route to that place several days before. There is, however much discrepancy in the statements of contemporary writers on the subject, for according to *Monstrelet*, Henry left Harfleur fifteen days after he entered it, which would make it about Tuesday the 8th, whilst *Otterbourn* asserts, that it was on the feast of St. Dennis, i. e. Wednesday the 9th. It appears that on Friday the 11th, Henry was at Arques, which is about forty miles from Harfleur; hence, if he quitted that town on the *first*, he could not have proceeded with much expedition.

<sup>c</sup> "Linqueus villam de Moustre de Villiers distantem circiter duo miliaria ab harfleu per dimidium miliare a dextris suis." But in the Note to *Hardyng's Chronicle*, the king is stated to have passed *half a mile to the right of that town*, and which must have been the fact, "Et die martis, primo die Octobris, cum exercitu suo non excedente nongentis lancans et quinque milia sagittarios, removit de Harflete, dimittendo villam de Mustra de Villers per dimidium miliare a dextris." Near Monster de Villiers they appear to have met with some opposition, as Geoffrey Blake is said, in p. 67 *infra*, to have been killed before that town, and likewise at Fescamp, which lies between Moustervillers and Arques, for William Bramshulf is recorded to have been taken at Fescamp. See p. 66 *infra*.

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necessaries for the march, and the rebels who might by mere chance be found making resistance.<sup>d</sup> And proceeding on the march, we came on the following Friday,<sup>e</sup> before the town of Archus, which had a sweet river descending to the haven of Dieppe, about three miles on our left on the sea-shore, and also narrow bridges and a castle; within the range and shot of which, was our passage. The king made his appearance in the battalions and the wings, and took up positions in the sight of the castle; but the garrison shot stones at us from their guns, to keep us off and prevent our approaching; however the stones, by the will of God, hurt no one. And after

<sup>d</sup> When Henry determined upon proceeding by land, he ordered that the burthens should be carried on horseback, and left the carriages behind, the more to expedite his march. His army was formed into three battalions, with two wings in the usual manner. The enemy having discovered by which road he would proceed, went before him, and stript the country of victuals, as much as they possibly could. The army proceeded regularly, without too much haste, and were spontaneously offered refreshments from certain places on their route. *Elmhurst*, p. 52.

<sup>e</sup> October 11th. Arques is a small town on the river Arques, about four miles S.S.E. from Dieppe.

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a little, the king sent to demand of the governor a free passage; who, after a treaty concluded upon, and the delivery of hostages, gave the king free passage and a certain quantity of bread and wine for the refreshment of the army, in order to buy off the burning of their town, and the neighbouring parts. We therefore passed that district through the middle of the town, which at the entrance we found fortified with thick trees, thrown across the way, and other impediments. But the next day<sup>f</sup> we passed the fortified and strong town of Ewe, leaving it half a mile on the left. Into this town part of the French army, which had assembled against us, had betaken itself, and now made a sally upon us; but they were quickly put to flight, and driven hastily back to the town for protection, not without slaughter and wounds; but some even

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<sup>f</sup> i. e. Saturday, 12th October. Ew is a sea-port town on the river Brele, 15 miles N.W. of Dieppe.

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of ours did not return free from blows.<sup>8</sup> And on the following night the inhabitants of the town, having before held a parley and given hostages, redeemed from burning the villages in which we passed the night, by giving a certain quantity of bread and wine for the refreshment of the army. And in the mean time it was rumoured in the army by certain captives, that the French had prepared themselves in a body to engage us. And it was asserted that in the opinion of some, this was to take place on the Sunday or Monday following, during our crossing the river Somme. Yet of the fighting of the

<sup>8</sup> At this encounter, where, according to *Titus Livius*, p. 13—f. 32. the Frenchmen sallied upon them in great numbers, and with great noise and clamour, as the usage is among them, was slain a most valiant man at arms, of the French forces, named Lancelot Pierres, who charged upon an Englishman with his lance, but was pierced between the plates of his armour, and mortally wounded him in the belly, and being thus wounded, he was killed by the Englishman. The death of the said Lancelot was, by the Conte d'Eu, and many other Frenchmen much lamented. *Monstrelet*, f. clxij. *St. Remy*, p. 85, says that they were both slain. *Elmhams* observes, that the French were at length driven into Ewe "with the speed of lightning," but that some English were cruelly wounded by missiles shot from the town. p. 52.



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battle, various was the opinion amongst us; for some firmly asserted, that considering the civil discord and deadly hatred subsisting between the French Princes and the duke of Burgundy, the French would not draw themselves out from the interior parts of the country and their strong holds, lest while thus drawing themselves out, the forces of the duke of Burgundy should either follow them, or against their will usurp the possession of their estates. But it was affirmed on the contrary by some, that the French, so renowned as they had formerly been for valour and military skill, could not, if they still had in them any heart or sensibility, bear the stain of so great a disgrace, which would be spoken of them through the world to their everlasting reproach, that they had grown so stupid and slothful, and had so much degenerated from their ancient nobility, that they durst not, yea were afraid, to put forth military strength against the king of England, who was coming into

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their country, after great delay in besieging and taking a town, and at length, with so small a retinue, and so diminished an army, laying waste the country at so great a distance from thence.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>b</sup> The opinion of the different members of the French council as to the expediency of attacking the English army, are very minutely given by *Des Ursins*, pp. 311-312, who states as a report of the time, that Henry was so much pressed, that he even offered to yield Harfleur into the king of France's hands, to give up his prisoners without ransom, or to make a final peace, and to give hostages to fulfil his promises, if he were allowed to pass freely to Calais. When the council had resolved that the English army should be attacked, it was ordered that some horsemen, namely, messire Gaulecet, lord of Ferte-Hubert, in Soulogne, messire Clignet de Brabant, and messire Louys du Bois-bourdon, all famous for valour, and for having long carried arms, should attack the English archers to break their ranks. Noblemen arrived from all parts; but when the king of England perceived that he was to be fought, he spoke well and proudly to his princes, knights, and esquires, and soldiers, and animated them to defend themselves ably, by inspiring them with courage. *Des Ursins*, p. 314, gives another account of the battle, and the preparations for it. It appears from his narrative that Henry's army amounted to 4000 men at arms, 4000 *gros valets*, armed with helmets, *berreauxes*, habergeons, great corslets, great hatchets, swords, and daggers; that in the rear guard of the French, were the duke de Bar, the count of Nevers, the count of Charolois, and messire Ferry, brother of the duke of Lorraine, in the wings the count of Richemont, and messire Tanneguy, Provost of Paris, and those mounted to break the English battalions, were the admiral and the senechal of Hainault. With all this preparation, he says, nothing was done, for the duke of Britany remained at Amiens, and the other lords went beyond it towards St. Paul, and on the

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Now after these occurrences, we came on the morrow, Sunday,<sup>1</sup> near the town of Abbeville, hoping on the following day to cross over the Somme: but it was suddenly told us by our scouts and advanced guard of horse, that the bridges with the causeways were broken down, and that a great part of the French army was on the opposite side of the bank, to prevent our crossing.<sup>2</sup> We therefore

other side. On Sunday, the 20th of October, they signified to the English, that they would give them battle on the Saturday following, at which the king of England was much rejoiced, and gave the herald who brought him the intelligence 200 crowns, and a robe. Our people and the English were near each other on the following Thursday, the 24th of October, and the next day the former deliberated at the request of the English who had been in want of provisions for three days, and demanded that they would give them battle, provisions, or a passage. The French, out of all their forces, only made two battalions. The lords all wished to be in the first battalion, for each was so jealous of the others, that they could not in any other way be reconciled. There were in the said first battalion, 5000 knights and esquires, who did not strike a blow, and in the second 3000, besides the 'gros valets,' archers, and arblestiers. When the English knew it, they were posted in a fine place between two woods, and a little distance from them was another wood, on the side of which they planted large ambuscades of their mounted men at arms.

<sup>1</sup> 13 October.

<sup>2</sup> "Henry intended to cross the Somme at Blanchetache, where his ancestor Edward the third had passed, but when he

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directed our course along the side of the river, with no other expectation than that

came within two leagues of that place, the people of his advanced guard took a gentleman, a native of Gascony, servant to messire Charles de Lahreth, then constable of France. But of this gentleman I know not what I ought to say, on account of the sad and melancholy event which happened in consequence, for if he had not been then taken, the king of England would have crossed at Blanchetache without any obstruction, and thus he and his army would have gone freely to Calais, and prevented that unhappy journey of the French, which was the cause of the battle of Agincourt. And now to speak of the said gentleman, whom many Frenchmen have called a devil, and not a man, true it is that when he was taken he was brought before the commander of the advanced guard, and questioned from whence he came, of what country he was, and whom he served; to which he replied, that he was a native of Gascony, and that he was come from the town of Abbeville, where he left his master the Constable. After many other questions, he was asked if the passage of Blanchetache was not guarded? He asserted that it was, and that many great lords were there, with six thousand good fighting men, and to assure them of the truth of it, he pledged his head. In consequence of this information he was brought before the king, when he was again interrogated, and the battalions commanded to halt. After the king had heard what he had to say, he summoned a council and deliberated upon the subject, which lasted full two hours, when it was at length determined that the king should take another route, because he believed that the Gascogne had spoken the truth. It is presumed that the Gascogne asserted what he had done, from a wish that the battle should take place, as at that time the French were not assembled, nor were they so for eight days afterwards. And to relate how the king of England abandoned the passage of Blanchetache, true it is that he proceeded higher up the river Somme, expecting to find a passage there. He marched so far, that he found himself near to Amiens, and afterwards took his way to Boves, where



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we must go quite to the upper parts of France, and to the head of the river, which was said to be distant upwards of lx. miles from that place, when it

he lodged, in which village they had an abundance of vines where there was plenty of wine in open casks, and the English went there to fetch some wine, at which the king was extremely displeased, and forbad them. He was asked why he forbad them, and allowed some to fill their bottles? to which he replied, that he was not dissatisfied with the bottles, but that the greater part made bottles of their bellies, and therefore he feared they would become disorderly. That village is situated upon the river, and upon a small rock is a fine fortress, which belonged to the count of Vandemont. The king of England, and all his host were in great want of bread, and the whole of the bread they had in that village, consisted of eight baskets, each carried by two men, the which were presented to the king by the captain of the said fortress. The king of England had two gentlemen of his army very ill, whom he delivered to the said captain, and was to pay for their ransom a horse for each. From Boves, the king with his army went to Neele in Vermundois, and when the king passed the said town of Neele, they had their walls covered with stuffs, chiefly of scarlet. Then the king proceeded along the banks of the river to find a passage; and there were at Abbeville messire Charles de Labreth, constable of France, with many other celebrated knights and soldiers, who, from day to day receiving information of the route which the king of England had taken, left the said town, and went to Corby, and from thence to Peronne, having their people always near enough to them, to endeavour to guard all the passages. *St. Remy*, p. 86-87. *Labourrur*, p. 1007, relates that the English hastened towards the Somme, which they expected to pass over a wooden bridge, but they found it broken, when despair made them set fire to the suburbs of the towns and villages, which they laid waste in waiting until the workmen, whom they had sent to work on the bridge rebuilt it



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was said that a multitude of the French were preparing to battle with us, with every sort of warlike ordnance and stratagem, and engines and other exquisite contrivances, and that they were unwilling to suffer us to cross over the river first, at any intervening place. Sad therefore at the rumours of the battle,<sup>1</sup> and grieving at our being im-

with the trees from the neighbouring forests, in the mean time the garrison of Calais, which knew nothing of this impediment, sent 300 of their best men at arms to meet the king, who were met and routed by the inhabitants of Picardy, when several were killed, and a great number made prisoners.

<sup>1</sup> The following translation of an extract from a letter from sir William Bardolf, lieutenant of Calais, to the duke of Bedford, regent of England, dated at Calais on the 7th of October, 1415, and preserved in the *Fœdera*, tome ix. is peculiarly interesting, as it contains the information which Bardolf had obtained of the situation of Henry, and of the extent of the forces brought against him; and judging from the accuracy of his calculation when the battle would take place, the other statements which it contains may perhaps be depended upon.

“Also, most high and powerful prince, and my most honoured and gracious lord, of the news of these parts, may it please your lordship to know, that by the arrival of divers good friends repairing to this town and marches, as well from France as from Flanders, it is generally reported to me, that without doubt the king our lord will be fought by his adversaries, within fifteen days from this time at the latest, and it is said that the duke of Lorraine, amongst others, has already assembled fifty thousand men, and that when they all meet there will not be less than one hundred thousand, or more. And they

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peded from crossing, we withdrew for another day, as far as another crossing over the river; but there also, the bridges and causeways were broken up, and the French shewed themselves on the other side with great haughtiness, and put themselves in battle array, just as if they were prepared to fight with us: but access to either side was prevented, by the rivers having on both sides a broad marsh, so that none of us, even if he had sworn, could bring injury to the other. We then expected nothing else, but that after having finished our eight days provisions and consumed our victuals, artfully proceeding and laying waste the country before us, they would strike us with famine; and at the head of the said river, (should God not provide against it,) would, with their innumerable multitude and all terrible engines, and able contrivances, overthrow us who

say also positively, that a celebrated knight, attended by five hundred lancens, has orders to remain on the frontiers, under the command of the lord of Bievilla, to defend the marches from the enemy "

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were so very few, and wearied with much fatigue, and weak from want of victuals. I who write, and many of the rest of the people looked bitterly up to heaven, unto the clemency of the celestial regard; and we besought the glorious Virgin and the blessed George, under whose protection the most invincible crown of England had flourished of old, for mediation between God and our people; that the supreme judge, who beholdeth all things, might in mercy spare the desolation of all England, at the expence of our blood; and that he might, of his unbounded justice, rescue from the swords of the French, to the honor and glory of his name, and lead to Calais with triumph, our king and us, whose object has been peace not war.<sup>m</sup>

<sup>m</sup> Like the English, the French had recourse to heaven for assistance, for *Laboureur* relates, that numerous processions were ordered, and a great number of solemn masses sung for the success of the king's expedition. The churches were filled with supplicants, and the clergy of Paris, among others, in a body with the university and many prelates, dressed in their pontifical habits, the better to inflame the zeal of an infinite multitude who followed them, went from church to church with

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Without other hopes, we pursued our march towards the head of the river, leaving on the next day the town of Amiens, about one league on the left; and on the following day we came to a district with a village of the duke of Burgundy's, by name Bowys,<sup>a</sup> having a river, bridges, and a castle, under which we had to pass, exposed to the shot of the enemy. But having held a parley with the garrison, upon their giving hostages, we had the village for our night's rest, well filled with wine, to the great refreshment of the army; and to secure the town and vineyards from being burnt, a free passage was granted us, with a provision of bread from the castle. And when on Thursday<sup>o</sup> we came into the plain, just by the walled town of Corby on our left, part of the French

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tapers in their hands, to invoke the protection of God, and to return thanks to him for the good news they had received, of the disorder and misery which wasted the English army, already so abandoned to the mercy of ours. p. 1007.

<sup>a</sup> Bowes, a small village about four miles S.E. of Amiens, by which a branch of the Somme passes.

<sup>o</sup> 17th October.



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army, which had also assembled there sallied out upon ours; but we quickly forced them to fly, having slain some of them, and taken two armed men.<sup>p</sup>

<sup>p</sup> Although it has been the plan of this work to notice contemporary authorities alone, the following extract from *Hollingshed* can scarcely be deemed a deviation from it, as it presents a document written at the period, which is not only intimately connected with the rencontre between Henry's army, and the French at Corby, but affords much information on the subject. It does not appear from whence Hollingshed derived the particulars with which he has introduced the grant alluded to, for no contemporary writer, to which the author has had access, mentions the circumstance. In the margin, Hollingshed states that the John Bromley in question, "Came of a younger brother in the lineage of the right honorable the lord chancellor, that now is, 1585," and it was probably to pay a compliment to that personage that it was introduced. A copy of the deed is given in the *Herald's Visitations of Shropshire*; and in Collins' account of the Family of Bromley, ed. 1779, vol. vii. p. 312, he adds, that by letters patent, 4 Hen. V. the standard of Guyenne, "Gules, a lion passant gardant, Or," was added to the crest of this John Bromley, who it seems from p. 45 *infra*, was a groom of the king's chamber, for his services on the occasion, but no reference to that patent appears in the printed calendar of the patent rolls. It must also be observed, that although it is manifest from the words of the deed, that Hugh Stafford lord Bouchier, was present at Corby, yet he is not included in the list of persons present at the battle of Agincourt, printed in this volume, but his name appears in p. 85 *infra*, among those who had contracted to provide men for the expedition; and also in p. lxxv *ante*, in the list of the peers who were at Southampton, destined for the voyage.

"At Corby, Sir Hugh Stafford, knight, lord Bouchier, chieftain of a wing to the king, under his standard of Guien, received the enemy's charge, when the force and slaughter



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There was brought to the king in that plain, a certain English robber, who,

grew grent both on the one side and the other by the French, in especial at first right fiercely pursued, in so much that with an hardy charge upon our men, they had both beat down the standard, and also from us quite won it away, to their high encouragement, and our incredible despite and dismay; whereas one John Bromley of Bromley, in Staffordshire, esquire, a near kinsman unto the lord Bourchier, was even straight so pierced at heart, as he could not contain him, but by and bye ran eagerly upon the French, and with his soldiers (in whom wrath and teene had already inflamed fury and desire of revenge,) did so fiercely set upon them, that they were not only beaten back, but also forced to abandon the place. At this push, the captain cutting through the thickest, strake down the champion that bare the standard, and so gloriously recovered it again and after during the fight, (where as many of the French lost their lives,) courageously over his soldiers advanced it himself."—"The singular prowess of this captain," Hollingshed adds, "the noble man highly regarding in an ample testimony thereof, and upon his own honourable consideration by a fair ancient deed yet extant at these days, did give him reward of £40 annuaty for his life. The monument so plainly declaring the truth of the matter, with the manner and dignity of the feat as it was done, hath been thought very meet, for the story in hand here now to place it as followeth.

"Hoc præsens scriptum testatur, quòd nos Hugo de Stafford, dominus le Bourgehier concessimus, et per presentes confirmavimus prædicto consanguineo nostro Johanni Bromley de Bromley, Armigero, pro suo magno auxilio nobis impenso in oppugnatione contra Francos prope le Corbie; et præcipuè pro suo laudabili servitio in recuperatione et supportatione vexilli domini Regis a Guien sub nostra conductione, annam annuatam sive annualem redditum quadraginta librarum legalis moneta annuatim percipiendum, durante tota vita naturali predicti Johannis de Bromley, de et in omnibus manerijs terris, et tenementis nostris, cum pertinentibus in comitatu

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contrary to the laws of God and the royal proclamation, had stolen from a church a pix of copper gilt, found in his sleeve, which he happened to mistake for gold, in which the Lord's body was kept; and in the next village where we passed the

Stafford et Warwik ad festa Penthecoste et sancti Martini in hyeme æquis portionibus. Et si contingat prædictam annuatam sive annualem redditum quadraginta librarum, a retro fore in parte vel in toto, ad aliquod festum quo solvi debeat, tunc bene licebit prædicto Johanni et assignatis suis in prædictis manerijs, ac in omnibus alijs terris et tenementis cum suis pertinentiis præscriptis, distringere, et distractiones effugare et retinere, quousque de prædicta annuitate simul cum arrearijs, si quæ fuerint, plenariè sibi fuerit satisfactum et persolutum. Et ut hæc nostra concessio, et scripti hujus confirmatio (durante tota vita prædicti Johannis de Bromley ut præfertur,) rata et stabilis permaneat, hoc scriptum impressione sigilli armorum meorum roboravi. Hijs testibus, Johanne de Holland, Richardo le Grevyll, Richardo de Horwood, Thoma le Forstar, et alijs. Datam apud Madeley decimo die mensis Martij anno regni regis Henrici quinti post conquestum quarto. [10 March, 1417.] Sealed with a shield, charged with a chevron, and a mallet for difference. His crest, a swan's head couped between two wings displayed, all out of a crown, supported by two greyhounds, inscribed, 'Signum Hugonis de Stafford Militis.' "

The rencontre near Corby appears from *Elmhurst's* description, to have been very severe; he says, "shield encountered with shield, lance with lance, steed with steed, knight with knight, and the mighty with the noble, with great impetuosity in a long contest, the horses and their riders being overthrown, but at length, by the overwhelming valour of the English, the French fled into their town:" but not a word occurs about the standard of Guyenne.

## The Battle of Agincourt.....clix

night, by decree of the king, punishing in the creature the injury done to the Creator, as Phinees in Zambri, he was put to death on the gallows.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Upon being informed of the robbery, *Titus Livius* relates, Henry commanded his host to halt until the sacrilege was expiated. He first caused the pyx to be restored to the church, and the offender was then led, bound as a thief through the army, and afterwards hung upon a tree, that every man might behold him. As soon as he was executed, the army was commanded to proceed. *Elmhams* adds, that he was hung upon a tree close by the church which had been robbed. Although no one expects that Shakspeare adhered very minutely to historical facts, still in this instance, and in another which will be noticed, he has so closely done so that it is impossible to resist inviting the reader's attention to the circumstance, particularly when even the gravest of our reviewers deem it necessary to point out the discrepancies between 'the author of *Waverley*' and the pages of the historian.

*Pistol.* Fortune is Bardolph's foe, and frowns on him,  
For he hath stol'n a pyx, and hanged must 'a be,  
A damned death!  
Let gallows gape for dog, let man go free,  
And let not hemp his wind-pipe suffocate:  
But Exeter hath given the doom of death,  
For pyx of little price.  
Therefore, go speak, the duke will hear thy voice,  
And let not Bardolph's vital thread be cut  
With edge of penny cord, and vile reproach:  
Speak, captain, for his life, and I will thee requite.

*K. Henry V. Act. III. Scene vi.*

And again,

*K. Henry.* What men have you lost, Fluellen?

*Fluellen.* The perdition of th'athventary hath been very great, very reasonable great. marry, for my part, I think the duke hath lost never a man, but one that is like to be executed for robbing a church, one Bardolph, if your majesty know he man: his face is all bubukles, and wheiks, and knobs, and flames of fire; and his lips blows at his nose, and it is like a coal of fire, sometimes blue, and sometimes red; but his nose is executed, and his fire's out.

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In the mean time a report was circulated through the army, upon the information of certain captives, that the enemy had appointed many companies of horsemen in hundreds, on armed horses, to break through the battle and strength of our archers, when they should come to an engagement with us; therefore the king gave orders through the whole army, that each archer should provide and equip himself with a square or round pole or staff, six feet in length, and of a sufficient thickness, and sharp at each end; directing that whenever the French

*R. Henry.* We would have all such offenders so cut off --- and we give express charge, that in our marches through the country, there be nothing compelled from the villages, nothing taken but paid for; none of the French upbraided, or abused in disdainful language. For when lenity and cruelty play for a kingdom, the gentler gamester is the soonest winner.

*Ibid.*

The dispute between Theobald, Dr. Warburton, and Mr. Malone, whether Shakspeare wrote *pax* or *pix*, is highly amusing, especially when it is remembered that neither of these critics seem to have consulted a single contemporary authority, but contented themselves with referring to Hall and Holingshead. Indeed they appear to have been chiefly occupied upon this, as upon most other occasions, with *literal emendations*; and, with very few exceptions, have omitted those illustrations to the play, which the narrative of contemporary writers would have amply afforded them, and which, to say the least, would have been infinitely more instructive and important.



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army should approach to battle, and begin breaking through their ranks with troops of horse of that sort, each one should fix his pole before him in front, and those who were behind, other poles intermediately; one end being fixed in the ground towards them, and the other sloping towards the enemy, higher than a man's waist from the ground; so that when that kind of horsemen should come to the charge, they would either retreat affrighted at the sight of the stakes, or regardless of their own safety, both horses and horsemen be in danger of being thrown on the stakes.<sup>r</sup> As we advanced, we were quartered on the following day in moderate sized farm-houses, near the walled town of Neel;<sup>s</sup> and the king sent to the townsmen, to redeem the adjacent farm-

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<sup>r</sup> When Henry learnt that troops were assembling from all parts of France to fight him, and to prevent his journey to Paris, *St. Remy* says, he took his departure from where he was, and put on his "cote d'armes," as did likewise also those who had "cotes d'armes," and ordered that all the archers should be furnished with a pole sharp at both ends. p. 87.

<sup>s</sup> Nesle, a town about twenty-four miles E.S.E. of Amiens, and nearly four, West, from the nearest part of the Somme.



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houses from fire, but meeting with a refusal, he ordered the inhabitants to be destroyed on the morrow, by setting fire to the houses. By the will of God, news was suddenly brought to the King, that about a league off there was a convenient ford over the river Somme; the king therefore sending forward an advanced guard of horse to try the ford, the depth of the bed, and the current of the river, followed quickly with the army.<sup>t</sup> But before he arrived at the river, he crossed a marsh about a mile from it, through which ran a stream, descending from a little distance into the greater river, and so he was shut up as it were in a corner, between the

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<sup>t</sup> The king marched several days, seeking a passage over the river Somme, and was shewed by some prisoners in the host, a passage over it, which was not much used. *Titus Livius* But *Elmhams* says, that the same Englishmen who were appointed to seek for a place to cross the river, found the ford by which they passed, and which some prisoners in the camp declared had never before been discovered, p. 54. *Titus Livius* states, that their passage over the river was opposed by sharp stakes.—p. 13. f. 31; and which is also mentioned by *Elmhams*, p. 52, who adds, that Henry was thus compelled to seek for a new ford.

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two rivers; but, by the will of God without the enemy knowing it." On coming to the river Somme, we there found two places capable of forming a passage of the river, and the water of the shallows reaching little higher than a horse's belly: the approach was by two long but narrow causeways, which the French had before warily broken through the middle, so that it was difficult for one abreast to ride through the breaks. And John Cornwall, and

" The following is *Des Ursins'* account of the march of the English army, and of the fate of the detachment which left Calais to join it. " The king of England left Harfleur, and was accompanied by about four thousand men at arms, and from sixteen to eighteen thousand archers on foot, and other fighting men, and proceeded towards Gurnay and Amiens, committing innumerable evils, setting places on fire, killing people, taking children and carrying them away. They soon collected a great number of the commons, as well from Paris as elsewhere, armed and provided with hatchets and leaden mallets, and who were anxious to use them, but the soldiers despised them. The marshal Bouc cant, messire Clignet de Brabant, and a hastard of Bourbon, were ordered to scour the country, who did great harm to the English, killing many, and not allowing any to escape. In passing by any wood or forest, the French common people killed many, and such as were made prisoners were not put to ransom. From Calais, about 300 English, who advanced before the rest of their people, were met by some brave inhabitants of Picardy, who killed and captured a great many, and the others were obliged to retreat to Calais " p. 310.

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Gilbert Humfrevyll, knights, being immediately sent over the water with their banners, and certain foot lancers and archers, a body of men was formed for covering the remainder of the people while landing, against an irruption of the French. And the king had the breaks filled up with wood, fascines, and straw, until three could easily ride abreast; and he ordered the baggage of the army to be conveyed over one of the said causeways, and his army across the other; where, stationing himself at the entrance on one part, and some chosen men on the other, lest the crowded and undisciplined multitude through eagerness to cross should press together, and choke up the narrow pass with impediments of their own creating; but by means of those two passages, great numbers soon collected beyond the river. Yet before a hundred of our men had forded it, some French horsemen appeared, coming from the villages, one, two, or three miles off,

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from that quarter, in troops and files, having been appointed by the French to obstruct our crossing; when rallying, though slowly, as it pleased God, they advanced towards our men, sending forward the swifter horsemen to find out whether there was still a chance of their being able to repel us. But they were immediately met by our advanced guard of horse; and as our forces had in the mean time much increased beyond the river, and had taken an excellent position before the enemy's sluggishness or incaution allowed them to rally, the French making a stand at a distance, observed our constant increase, and reckoning our power to act and their inability to resist, they deserted the place and vanished from our sight. Now we commenced crossing about the first hour after noonday, and it wanted an hour to night when we had entirely passed over.\* On which occasion we

\* *St. Remy's* (pp 86, 87) description of the passage of the river is highly interesting; "And to speak of the passage of the king of England, true it is that he and all his army dismounted



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passed a joyful night in the next farm-houses, which had been left by the French on our first arrival over the

from their horses, and came to the river and began to destroy houses, and to take ladders, doors and windows, to construct a bridge to cross, so that in about eight hours, from the morning until nearly the close of the day, the English never ceased to work in making the said bridge; and thus they passed without horses. When a sufficient number had crossed, a standard was sent over, and when the advanced guard had all crossed on foot, the horses were taken across. Then the battalions and rear guard passed, and as is just stated, it was night before they had all crossed. Notwithstanding it was night, the English marched on, and the king lodged not far from Athies, in the neighbourhood of which was the French army. When the French knew the English had crossed the river, they were extremely dissatisfied with those of St. Quintin, for they were commanded by the king to destroy the passage where they crossed." pp. 86 and 87. To this, the narrative of *Pierre de Fenin*, is an acceptable addition. "Henry approached Pont de Remy to attack Bille, with the view of obtaining a passage there, but that place was well and stoutly defended by the lord of Vancour, who was lord of it, with his two sons who were knights of great courage and renown, and which was also well provided with people and instruments of war. After the king saw that he could not pass by the Pont de Remy, he marched towards Araine and from thence to Amiens, and passed above the town without loss, and then lodged at Bonne. The forces of king Charles always followed king Henry so closely, that often there were not more than from five to six leagues between the two armies, so that they daily expected to fight, but they had not a proper situation; and they also waited for the duke of Brittany, who came to the assistance of the French with many followers. King Henry passed the river Somme at Escluser, lodging at the tower of Miraumont, from which to reach Calais." p. 460



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water; considering with great joy, that in about eight days, according to the general calculation, we should complete our march; and we firmly hoped that the army of the enemy, which was said to be waiting for us at the head of the river, would not harass us with attacks. Nevertheless, on the morrow, viz. Sunday,<sup>w</sup> the duke of Orleans, and the duke of Bourbon, who were nearly allied to the king, having the command of the French army, sent three heralds to announce that they would fight with him before he came to Calais; but without assigning the day or place.\* In conse-

<sup>w</sup> 20th October.

\* *Titus Livius* states, that the heralds were first brought to the duke of York, and by him presented to the king, before whom they fell upon their knees, and having obtained his permission to speak, addressed him in these words. "Right, puissant prince, great and noble is thy kingly power, as is reported among our lords. They have heard, that thou labourest by thy forces to conquer towns, cities, and castles of the realm of France, and of the Frenchmen you have destroyed. For which causes, and for the performance of the oath which they have taken to the king, many of our lords are assembled to defend this realm, the king's right and their own, and they inform thee by us, that before thou comest to Calais they will meet thee, to fight with thee, and to be revenged of thy conduct." To which, Henry, with a courageous spirit, a firm look, without

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quence, our king, thankful for the favour of God and wholly relying upon

anger or displeasure, and without his face changing colour, mildly replied, that 'all would be done according to the will of God.' When the heralds inquired what road he would take, he answered, 'Straight to Calais, and if our adversaries attempt to disturb us in our journey, it shall be at their utmost peril, and not without harm to them. We seek them not, neither will the fear of them induce us to move out of our way, or the sight of them cause us to make the greater haste. We advise them, however, not to interrupt our journey, nor to seek such an effusion of christian blood.' The heralds being satisfied with this answer, and having, with permission to depart, received a hundred gold French crowns, returned to their camp, p. 14.—*Harl. MSS.* 35, f. 34 This interview is of so interesting a nature, that *Stanhope's* account of it is subjoined "As soon as the heralds had arrived at the foremost ranks of the English army, the cause of their coming being made known to the duke of York, the constable and marshal of the army, and by him explained to the king, they were by his commands introduced into the presence of the king, who was waiting on horseback in the open country, surrounded by a few noblemen, and falling on their knees before his majesty, they stated the whole purport of their mission. They informed Henry, 'That as the princes and nobles of France had heard and knew his martial fame and fervent passion for warlike deeds, and especially because he was attempting with a mighty hand to lay waste, or subdue to his power those parts which belonged to the crown of France, which they were bound to defend, themselves and their numerous followers, for the preservation of the title of their king, they had resolved to engage the English army before they reached Calais.' Henry mildly, and with a courageous heart, and a steady countenance replied: 'As the Lord hath decreed, let all things be fulfilled;' and being asked by the heralds by which road he should proceed, he said, 'Straight towards our town of Calais, we intend to direct our steps, from which road, if our enemies have determined to

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his help, and the righteousness of his own cause, addressed his army with great spirit and tenderness, and disposed himself for battle on the morrow; when, advancing on his march, he met with no resistance. And passing by the walled town of Peron<sup>7</sup> on our left, we found the horsemen of the French army setting out from the town towards us, with the view of drawing us within the shot and missiles of the enemy, but our horsemen making a stand, they quickly fled into the town. And after we had passed the town about a mile, we found the roads strangely trodden by the French army, as if they had gone before us in many thousands. And then we

drive us aside, let them attempt to do so at their own peril, for we will neither seek them, nor move faster or more slowly on that account.' The heralds, satisfied with these replies, after a hundred crowns had been presented to each of them from the king's treasury, returned to the French camp p 55. *St. Henry* however says, that Henry did not answer the French heralds in person, but that he sent two of his own officers of arms to the French lords, with a reply similar to what has been just stated. p. 87.

<sup>7</sup> Peronne, a town on the Somme, about twenty-three miles E. by N. of Amiens.

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who were the remnant of the people, not to say of the more powerful, dreading the impending battle, raised our hearts and eyes to heaven, crying with voices of the deepest earnestness, for God to have compassion upon us and of his unspeakable goodness to turn away from us the power of the French.\*

\* The situation of Henry's army at this moment was truly critical, and the following extracts from *Laboureur's* history of Charles VI. shew that the despair of the English was proportionate to the confidence of their enemies, and that nothing but mismanagement and jealousy, saved them from destruction. He states, "that the French ministers assembled all the troops which were dispersed, and ordered them to follow Henry's route, and to keep in the fields, without lodging in the villages, excepting at night; fully believing that fortune had taken part against their enemies, and that she had thus embarrassed them to render the conquest of them the more easy. This order was sent to all the bailiffs and provosts and royal justices, and would have been attended with the expected success, if they had a real army, or rather if they had not been a confused mass of *canaille*, hussards, exiles, and villains, who enrolled themselves under the princes, less from regard to the safety and interests of their country, than with the view of pillaging it. In a word, excepting by murder and burning, they rendered themselves more dreadful than the enemy himself. The king of France came to Rouen at the commencement of October, with an army capable of conquering the best disciplined forces. He had more than fourteen thousand men at arms, commanded by distinguished leaders, of whom many were of the blood royal, and well merit that their names should have a place in this history. Among others, there were the duke de Guyenne, eldest son of the king, the dukes of Berry,



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### After that, we directed our march

Orleans, Bourhon, Alençon, Barr, and Brabant, and the counts of Nevers, Richmond, Flandres, and fifteen other great barons, nearly all the bravest knights, and the most devoted to the king, who ardently desired to revenge the injuries they had received from the English."—"Besides this great body of the king's troops," he continues, "the citizens of Paris offered 6000 men well armed, to fight in the front on the day of battle, but on the duke of Berry speaking much in praise of this militia in presence of the knights of his suite, one of them, named Jean de Beaumont, replied with contempt, "What do we want of the assistance of these shopkeepers, since we are three times as many in numbers as the English." It is true the English had the courage to quit their quarters on the sea shore, but they did so as much from necessity as valour, for they could not allow themselves to be destroyed by famine, by which they were so distressed, that they resolved to risk a battle, and to advance further in land. They proceeded through forests and covered places, and passed Gourmy and Beaufort at the distance of twenty two leagues from the sea, with all the hostility of an army which found the country abandoned to its mercy. They were four days on their route, and the fear of finding themselves hemmed in by our people, made them take the road to Amiens. They suffered so much, that they were willing to procure food at any price or in any manner, and they complained publicly against the French traitors, who had produced their miseries, wishing them all possible ills as a punishment for their perfidy." p 1006 "It is also," he adds, "but true that they might have exterminated the English army, if they had made use of their advantages, and without any loss of blood, but they were all astonished to hear that by an order of some of the leaders, I know not their names, they were marched off, and gave up the pursuit to encamp elsewhere." *Ibid.* p 1007. The same writer notices the jealousy of the leaders of the French army, (p 1009,) and informs us, that when Henry knew that he must fight the French army, the French were four times as strong as Henry's forces, and that he had to engage so many dukes, counts, and barons of France, that he thought t



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towards the river of Swords, leaving on the following Wednesday,<sup>b</sup> the walled town of . . . . . one league on the left.<sup>c</sup> And on the next day, viz. Thursday,<sup>d</sup> descending the valley towards the said river of Swords, it was told the king by the scouts and advanced guard of horse, that many thousands of the enemy were on the other side of the river, about one league on our right. We passed therefore over the river as quickly as we could; and when we

better to change his design and to endeavour to escape from the danger by treaty, which he offered on the 24th of October, and proposed to repair all the mischief caused by his descent in France, provided they would promise to let him and his troops pass, but, he observes, the "mad presumption of some, and the evil intentions of others, made them prefer war to peace." p 1008.

<sup>a</sup> The river Canche.

<sup>b</sup> 23rd October.

<sup>c</sup> On this day, Wednesday, *Monstrelet* says, the king lodged at Bouviers l'Escaillon, and the duke of York his uncle, who led the advanced guard, lodged at Fiennesch, on the river Canche, and the remainder of the English were dispersed in the seven or eight adjoining villages. They were not disturbed, for the French had hastened on to get before them, to the town of St Pol, and on the river d'Annun; and on the Thursday, the king of England left Bouviers, and proceeded in very fine order as far as Blangy, where he received the information from his scouts, mentioned in the text. f. clxiii.

<sup>d</sup> 24th October.

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reached the top of the hill, on the other side, we saw three columns of the French emerge from the upper part of the valley, about a mile from us, who at length being formed into battalions, companies, and troops, in multitudes compared with us, halted a little more than half a mile opposite to us, filling a very wide field, as with an innumerable host of locusts; a moderate sized valley being betwixt us and them.\* Our

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\* After the departure of the heralds, *Titus Livius* asserts, that the king having been informed of a river which must be crossed, over which was a bridge, and that his progress depended in a great degree upon securing possession of it, despatched some part of his forces to defend it from any attack or from being destroyed. They found many of the enemy ready to receive them, to whom they gave battle, and after a severe conflict they captured the bridge and kept it. This he adds, happened upon the xi kal. November, on which day the church commemorates the feast of St. Romayne, the confessor.<sup>a</sup> *Elsham*, p. 56, informs us, that on the arrival of the English detachment at the bridge, they found some of the enemy busily employed in breaking it to pieces, whom they attacked and routed, wounding some, and making many prisoners, and manfully preserved the bridge from destruction. Now, he adds, it was Thursday the morrow of the feast of St.

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<sup>a</sup> The xi Kal of November is the 23d of October, which occurred in 1415 on a Tuesday, but the feast of St. Romayne the confessor falls on the 23rd October and which agrees with *Elsham* saying, that the day before the battle, when they crossed the bridge was on *Thursday*, the morrow of the feast of St. Romayne, i. e. 24 October

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king in the mean time animated his army with great courteousness and intrepidity, and arranged them in battalions

Romans the confessor, on which having passed over the bridge, the duke of York, commander of the van of the royal army, having ascended to the top of a hill, sent scouts over the country to bring information if they discovered the enemy's forces; and one of them having perceived them, and being astonished at the extent of the French army, retreated with a trembling heart and with the utmost speed his horse would carry him to the duke, and being almost breathless, said, 'Quickly, be prepared for battle, as you are just about to fight against a world of innumerable people.' As soon as the duke had informed himself of the truth of the report, he acquainted the king, who received the news with a cheerful countenance, nor changed either into a cold tremor, nor into the heat of passion, but having directed the middle battalion which he commanded in person to halt, he hastened at the utmost speed of the fine horse on which he rode, to view the enemy. The superior numbers of the French, which he says "were like so many forests covering the whole of the country far and wide," did not at all lessen the king's courage, or reliance upon Providence, notwithstanding that it had pleased him to visit his army with such ravages of death, pestilence, famine, labour, and other troubles. Devoutly therefore committing himself and his army into God's protection, and having with the advice of experienced soldiers chosen a proper situation for his forces, and knowing from the shortness of the winter's day that evening would speedily approach, he drew up his army in regular order and array, and assigned them their stations, and exhorted them to prepare for battle, animating their hearts by his intrepid demeanour, and consoling expressions. When the night closed in, and it became so dark that they could scarcely see their own hands and knew not where to find a night's lodging, the king determined to seek such quarters for his army as God might provide, and having ordered them to refrain from making the noise and clamour which they had before done, lest the enemy might

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and wings, as if they were immediately to come to battle. Every one who had not

thereby devise some means of annoying them, the royal army without sending harbingers, proceeded in search of quarters for the night, and "wonderful to relate," observes the writer, "by the direction of a certain white road, which they discovered in the dark, they came safely to a village suitable for them to lodge in, and where they were provided with necessaries in a more convenient manner than on preceding nights. There they passed the night without confusion, companions laying out with companions, and masters with servants. they caused watch fires to be lighted all round the camp, in the same way as the enemy had done, who were not more than a quarter of an English mile from them." And about the middle of the night, whilst, we are figuratively told, the moon was shining, the king deeming that an acquaintance with the place where the battle would be fought on the next day, would be very useful to him, sent some persons to examine the field, from whose report he derived information, the better to enable him to array his forces. p. 59 *Titus Livius'* narrative of the events of the day before the battle, is as follows, "As soon as the duke of York, who commanded the first ward, had passed the river, and had ascended the hill, one of the English scouts having reported to him that he had perceived an immense body of the enemy, he acquainted the king with the circumstance, who, without fear or anger, commanded the middle ward which he led, to halt; and giving spurs to his horse, hastened to view the enemy, which he found to be an innumerable multitude. He then returned to the field, and with a constant and fearless mind, made the necessary arrangements for battle, by distributing to every captain his proper number, and thus kept his army prepared until night; and as soon as the day closed he endeavoured to find some place of shelter for his people where they might procure the necessary refreshments. But on that night, the eve of a terrible battle, they could find no place where food could be procured, but providentially there was shown to them a certain white way, by which they were led to a village where

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before cleansed his conscience by confession, then took the armour of penitence, nor was there at that time a want of any thing but priests. Amongst other speeches which I noticed, was this: a certain lord, Walter Hungerford, knight, was regretting in the king's presence, that he had not, in addition to the small retinue which he had there, ten thousand of the best English archers, who would be desirous of being with him. When the king said, "thou speakest foolishly, for by the God of heaven, on whose grace I have relied, and in whom I have a firm hope of victory, I would not, even if I could, increase my number by one; for those whom I have are the people of God, whom he thinks me worthy to have at this

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they met with better meat and drink than they had found before in their march, and where the king also took a little house for his lodging. From thence where the king had placed his battalions, to the village, by the king's command, no noise or cry was heard from the English, but every man proceeded in silence; and when they arrived at the said village, they lighted their fires. In like manner did the French, who were distant from the English camp, scarcely two hundred and fifty paces.



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time; dost thou not believe, the Almighty with these, his humble few, is able to conquer the haughty opposition of the French, who pride themselves on their numbers, and their own strength, as if it might be said they could do as they liked? and in my opinion God, of his true justice, would not bring any disaster upon one of so great confidence, as neither fell out to Judas Maccabeus, until he became distrustful, and thence deservedly fell into ruin."<sup>f</sup> The enemy having for a little

<sup>f</sup> In a former note the fidelity with which Shakspeare has in some instances followed history, was noticed, but a more remarkable example is afforded, by comparing the following extract with the passage in the text. It is true that the Poet does not make Henry talk of 'Judas Maccabeus,' nor is the language imputed to him of so pious a nature as is recorded above, but which, however ill suited to the stage, is much more consonant to the character which historians have given of that prince.

*Westmoreland.* O that we now had here  
But one ten thousand of those men in England,  
That do no work to-day!

*K. Henry.* What's he, that wishes so?  
My cousin Westmoreland?—No, my fair cousin,  
If we are mark'd to die, we are enough  
To do our country loss; and if to live,  
The fewer men, the greater share of honour.

God's will! I pray thee, wish not one man more, &c.

*King Henry V. Act. IV. Scene iii.*

Shakspeare was indebted to Hollingshed for this anecdote,

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while examined and considered our small force, drew themselves into a plain beyond a wood, not far off on the left, between us and them, where our route lay towards Calais. Our king conjecturing that their intention was to go round the wood, and come upon us by that way, or making a circuit through

which is also mentioned by *Elmham* and *Titus Livius*, who state that the observation was made by "one of the host." Whilst alluding to *Shakspeare*, it may be observed as a singular anomaly, that though he so very closely adhered to History in many parts of *KING HENRY V.* he should have deviated so much from it in the *Dramatis Personæ*. He makes the Duke of Bedford accompany Henry to Harfleur and Agincourt, when it is notorious that he was regent of England, the earl of Dorset, (with respect to whom *Shakspeare* has, as Mr. Malone has pointed out, committed an anachronism by styling him duke of Exeter, for he was not raised to that dignity until the following year, 18 Nov. 1416,) was left to command Harfleur, the earl of Westmoreland, (Act. IV. sc. iii.) instead of quitting England with the expedition, or being at Agincourt, had been appointed to defend the marches of Scotland, (see p. xxviii ante), nor, though the earl of Salisbury, (Act. IV. sc. vii) contracted to furnish a certain number of followers, (see p. 83, *infra*) does it appear that he was either at Harfleur or Agincourt, and the earl of Warwick, (Act. IV. sc. vii) had returned to England ill before the king left Harfleur. On the other hand, the poet has not introduced the earl of Suffolk, the lords Camoys, or Fitz Hugh, sir Walter Hungerford, sir John Cornwall, and sir Gilbert Humphreys, or others who were highly conspicuous during the whole expedition; and the only characters he has adopted, who really were present at Agincourt, are the dukes of Gloucester and York, and sir Thomas Erpyngham.

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the more distant forests in the neighbourhood, to surround us on every side, forthwith removed his troops, and continually took a position opposite to them. And when at length after some delays we were nearly overtaken by sunset, the French, perhaps not thinking it proper that war should be carried on at night, since it is not fit, took the villages and orchards in the neighbourhood, proposing to rest until morning.\*

\* *Pierre de Feum's* narrative of Henry's march from the time he crossed the Somme, until he took up his position the night before the battle, agrees very nearly with the account in the text. *Monstrelet's* description is as follows.—“The king of England passed the Somme on the morrow after the feast of St. Luke, i. e. 19th October, by the passage of Voyenne and Betencourt, the which passage had not been staked by those of St. Quentin, as they were commanded by the king of France; and the said king lodged at Monehy la Cache, near the river of Miraumont, and the lords of France with their forces retired to Bapaume, and the adjacent parts. In the mean time the king of France, and the duke of Aquitaine came to Rouen, at which place a council was held on the xxth of October, to determine what should be done to oppose the king of England, at which were present the king of Sicily, the dukes of Berry and Brittany, the count of Ponthieu, youngest son of the king, the chancellors of France and of Aquitaine, and several other celebrated counsellors, to the number of thirty-five. After many things had been proposed and argued, it was at last determined by thirty of the said number, that the king of England and his army should be fought, and the other

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And when at length day-light closed, and darkness had intercepted us from them, still we continued on the

ave, for many reasons, gave it as their best advice that they should not engage them on the day they had fixed upon, but the sentiments of the major ty were adopted. Immediately the king sent letters to the constable and his other officers, commanding them to assemble with all their forces, to give battle to the king of England. It was then proclaimed throughout France, that all noble men accustomed to bear arms, and willing to acquire honor, should hasten night and day, to join the constable wherever he might be, and even Louis, duke of Aquitaine, was very desirous of doing so, notwithstanding that he had been forbidden by the king, his father; but by the persuasion of the king of Sicily, and the duke de Berry, he was prevented from going. And then all the lords in great haste, who were prepared, proceeded to the said constable, who approaching the country of Artois, sent to the count of Charolais only son of the duke of Burgundy, the lord of Montgancier, to inform him of the resolution taken to fight the English, and, on the part of the king, to require him most earnestly to be present on that day. Montgancier found him at Arras, and was most honorable received by him and his lords, and after he had acquainted him in council, with the cause of his coming, he was informed by the lords of Rohais and Viefville, that he would use such expedition as should be necessary. The count of Artois wished with all his heart to be present against the king of England, which all his council had advised him, yet he was nevertheless expressly commanded to the contrary by his father, John duke of Burgundy."—"From Monche le Gache, the king of England marched towards Amcre, and took up his quarters at Forceville, Achen, and in the villages in the neighbourhood; on the other hand, the French proceeded before, to St. Paul. Afterwards king Henry lodged at Bonniere-l'Escaillon; Wednesday, the day of All Saints, his advanced guard lodged at Fervene, and that night occupied

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plain, and heard the enemy as they quartered their people, each one as the manner is, vociferating for his comrade, servant, or friend, who might be at a distance in so great a multitude. And our men beginning to do the same, the king commanded silence throughout the whole army, under pain of forfeiture of horse and harness if a gentleman should offend, and of the right ear without hope of pardon for an attendant or any inferior person presuming to violate the royal order.<sup>b</sup> And he turned immediately off in silence to the village

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seven or eight villages. The Thursday following, king Henry left Bonniere, passed by Fervene, from whence he marched as far as Blangy en Ternois, and passed beyond to lodge at Maisencelle, at which place he lay, and assembled all his forces. On that day the lords of France lodged at Ruiseauville, Azincourt, and in many other of the surrounding villages, and then they took the field, and lodged so near to king Henry's host, that there were not more than about four bow shots between the two armies, and thus they passed the night without doing any thing to each other.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Towards the end of the volume, a copy will be found of the regulations made by Richard the second in 1380, for the government of the army; and as they appear from the text to have been in force at the period in question, they will afford much curious information relative to the discipline and state of Henry's army.



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just by, where we had houses to rest in, but very scanty gardens and orchards, and were exposed to much rain through nearly the whole night. Our adversaries observing our stillness and silence, and thinking we were panic-struck in consequence of our small numbers, and that we had, perhaps, purposed flying by night, made fires and planted strong guards throughout the plains and passes; and it was said, they reckoned themselves so sure of us, that our king and his nobles on that night were played for at dice.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Monstrelet* thus describes what took place in both camps, on the day and night preceding the battle. "On Thursday, [24 October,] towards evening, Philip count of Nevers, on his return from a reconnoitering party was knighted by the hand of Bouciquart, marshal of France, and with him many other great lords, and soon afterwards the constable arrived near to Azincourt, where all the French had assembled in one host, and lodged in the field, each man as near as possible to his banner, excepting those of low station, who lodged themselves as well as they could in the adjoining villages. And the king of England with all his host, lodged in a small village called Maisoncelles, about three bow-shots distant from them. The French, with all the royal officers, that is to say the constable, the marshal Bouciquart, the lord of Dampierre, and sir Clugnet de Brabant, each styling himself admiral of France, the lord of Rambures, commander of the arblestrees, with many other princes, barons, and knights,

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### On the morrow, viz. Friday, the feasts of Saints Crispin and Crispinian,

planted their banners with loud acclamations of joy around the royal banner of the constable, on the spot they had fixed upon, situated in the county of St. Pol, or territory of Azincourt, by which the next morning the English must pass on their march to Calais. Great fires were this night lighted near to the banner under which each person was to fight, but although the French were full one hundred and fifty thousand strong, with a prodigious number of waggons and carts, containing cannon and all other military stores, they had but little music to cheer their spirits; and it was remarked with surprise, that scarcely any of their horses neighed during the night, which was considered by many as a bad omen. The English during the whole night, played on their trumpets and various other instruments, insomuch that the whole neighbourhood resounded with their music, and notwithstanding they were much fatigued and oppressed by cold, hunger, and other discomforts, they made their peace with God, by confessing their sins with tears, and numbers of them taking the sacrament; for, as it was related by some prisoners, they looked for certain death on the morrow. The duke of Orleans sent in the night time for the count of Richmond, who commanded the duke of Aquitaine's men, and the Bretons to join him, and when this was done they amounted to about two hundred men at arms and archers; they advanced near to the quarters of the English, who suspecting that they meant to surprise them, drew up in battle array, and a smart skirmish took place. The duke of Orleans, and several others were on this occasion knighted, but the action did not last long, and the French retired to their camp, and nothing more was done that night. The duke of Brittany was at this time come from Rouen to Amiens to join the French, with six thousand men, if the battle had been delayed until the Saturday. In like manner the marshal de Longuy was hastening to their aid with six hundred men. He was quartered that night only six leagues from the main army, and had set out very early the following morning to join them." *Johnes's Monstrelet*, ed.

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the xxvth of October, the French at break of day arrayed themselves in

1810, p. 169-171. To this account the narrative of *St. Remy* who expressly says he was present, is an important addition. "After Henry left Athes, he proceeded to Doing, near Peronne, and then lodged at Miraumont, where he received certain intimation that he was to be fought, and then went towards Eucre, and took up his quarters at a village called Forcheville; and his army lodged in the neighbouring places, always in such array as you have heard, wearing their 'cotes d'armes;' and the next morning, which was Wednesday, [23rd October], they marched to Luceu, and lodged at Bonnières l'Escalon, and his advanced guard lodged at Frenen, on the river Canche. It is true that the king of England and his people were that night well lodged in seven or eight villages, without any opposition, for the French had gone on to get before him at St. Pol, on the river Anvin; and to speak truly, the king intended to have lodged at another village, which had been taken by his harbingers, but he who regulated the 'ceremonies d'honneur' very creditably, did that which you have heard. True it is, that in performing this journey, as often as he sent scouts before towns or castles, or upon any other commission, he obliged the lords or gentlemen who went, to divest themselves of their 'cotes d'armes,' and to resume them on their return. It so happened that on the day on which the king of England left Bonnières to proceed to Blangy, he approached a village which had been selected by his harbingers, but as he was not informed of it, and not knowing the village in which he was to take up his quarters, he passed it at about a bow shot's distance and rode on, but when he was informed of the circumstance, he halted and said, "Now God would not be pleased, seeing that I have on my 'cote d'armes,' if I should turn back," and then passed beyond it, and took up his quarters where the advanced guard were to have lodged, which he caused to proceed further on. The next day the king of England quitted the village, in the same array as that of the preceding days, keeping the route to Calais.

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battalions, troops, and squadrons, and took their position in terrific numbers,

That day was Thursday, the 24th of October, the eve of St. Crispin, and when the king of England and his army had left it, his scouts discovered on all sides the approach of the French in great numbers, to take up their quarters at Rousseneville and at Agincourt, that they might be there before him, to give him battle on the following day. But to return to the king of England: before he had passed the river Blangy in Ternois, and also because there is a passage there, he caused the 'cotes d'armes' of six noblemen of his advance guard to be displayed, and made them pass beyond it to ascertain if it was unguarded, and which they found undefended. Thus the English hastily crossed in great force, and when they had passed the village of Blangy, they learnt from their scouts as a certainty, that the French had likewise assembled in great force. The king of England seeing the French before him, ordered his army to dismount and to prepare for battle, expecting it on that Thursday: and there might the English be seen on their knees, with their clasped hands raised towards Heaven, praying that God would take them into his protection. *And it is true that I was with them, and saw that which I have related,* and in the same array the king of England remained in that place until sunset; and on the other hand the French, who could easily perceive the English, and likewise expected to fight them on that Thursday, halted and made every necessary preparation, putting on their 'cotes d'armes,' and displaying their banners; and they made many knights." He then describes the French army in a manner so very similar to *Monstrelet*, that it is unnecessary to repeat it, and goes on to state, "that before Henry went to his quarters at Maisoncelles, he allowed all the prisoners in his host to depart, upon their promise that if he gained the victory, they would all return to him and their masters, if they survived, but that if he lost the battle, that then they should be released from their engagements. When the French perceived that Henry had taken up his quarters at Maisoncelles, and that there would be no battle on that day, the king and his

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before us in the said plain named  
AGINCOURT, through which lay our

constable commanded that every one should lodge where he was. Then were seen displayed banners and pennons, surrounded by lances, 'cotes d'armes' laid aside, and trunks and chests unpacked; and every lord sent his people or harbingers to the next villages, for straw and litter to put under their feet, and also for them to repose on in the place where they were; the which night was very cold for the horses, and with them it rained nearly all the night, and the pages and valets, and all manner of people, made so much noise that it is said the English plainly heard them; but from them nothing was heard, for during that night, all there confessed themselves who could find a priest. Eighteen esquires of the French army, led by Brunelet de Masinguehem, and Ganiot de Bourneville, bound themselves by oath, that when the two armies met, they would with their united strength, force themselves sufficiently near to the king of England to strike the crown from off his head, or that they would all die, which they did, but they succeeded in reaching so near to the king, that one of them with an axe gave him so violent a blow on his helmet, that he struck one of the points from his crown; but every one of these gentlemen were killed and cut to pieces, which, he observes, was a great pity, for if every one of the French army had acted as they did, it was thought that the English would have come badly off. The men at arms replaced their 'aguillettes' and all their equipments, and likewise the archers affixed new strings, and adjusted their bows as was necessary. When the morning dawned, the king of England began to hear mass, and heard three, one after the other, armed in all his armour, excepting his head and his 'cote d'armes.' After masses had been said, they brought him the armour for his head, which was a very handsome 'bachinet à barriere,' upon which he had a very rich crown of gold, circled like an imperial crown. After he was equipped at all points, and mounted upon a grey horse, (a little horse,) without spurs, and without commanding the trumpets to sound, he ordered his army out of



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road towards Calais; and they placed many companies of horse in hundreds,

their quarters, and upon a fine plain of young corn he arranged his order of battle, and directed a gentleman with ten lances and twenty archers to guard the baggage of himself, his people, and his pages, who were noblemen, and many other of the sick, who could not protect themselves. He only formed one line, and all the men at arms were placed in the middle, and all the banners sufficiently near to each other. On the sides of the men at arms were the archers, and *there were full nine hundred men at arms and ten thousand archers.* And to speak of the banners, he had there for his person five banners, that is to say, the banner of the Trinity, the banner of St. George, the banner of St. Edward, and the banner of his own arms. There were also the banners of many other persons—the duke of Gloucester's, the duke of York's, the earl of March's, the earl of Huntingdon's, the earl of Oxford's, the earl of Kent's, the lords Roos and Corwall's, and of many others. When the king of England had drawn up his order of battle, and arranged about his baggage, he rode along his lines upon the little grey horse before mentioned, and made a fine address to them, exhorting them to act well; saying, that he was come into France, to recover his lawful inheritance, and that he had good and just cause to claim it; that in that quarrel they might freely and surely fight, that they should remember that they were born in the kingdom where their fathers and mothers, wives and children now dwelt, and therefore they ought to strive to return there with great glory and fame; that the kings of England his predecessors had gained many noble battles and successes over the French, that on that day every one should endeavour to preserve his own person, and the honour of the crown of the king of England. He moreover reminded them that the French boasted that they would cut off three fingers from the right hand of every archer they should take, so that their shot should never again kill man nor horse."

St. Remy then proceeds to describe the preparations made by the French for the battle. "The French, who on the Thursday

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at each side of their van-guard, to break up the line and strength of our

evening took up their quarters on the fields between Azincourt and Tramecourt, where the battle occurred the next day, in which place as is said they kept themselves until morning, expecting before their departure to fight the king of England. Thus they put every thing in order; but to relate the truth, the Thursday evening when they had returned to the place where they halted, and where the battle took place the next day, the princes of France and the royal officers who were there, that is to say, the Constable, marshal Boucicault, the lord of Dampierre, and messire Clignet de Brabant, both of whom had been appointed admirals of France, the lord of Rambures, commander of the arblestiers of France, and many princes, barons, and knights, planted their banners in great spirits with the royal banner of the constable of France, on a field which they had directed, and situated in the comte of St. Pol, or territory of Azincourt, by which the English would pass the next day, on their way to Calais, and that night they made many large fires, close to the banner under which they were to fight, and notwithstanding that the French were full fifty thousand men, with a great number of waggons and carts, guns and 'serpentines,' and those other warlike implements which were requisite on such an occasion, they had a few musical instruments to cheer them; and on that night, of all the host of France, scarcely a horse was heard to neigh. This I know for a truth, from messire John, the bastard of Varvin, lord of Forestel, for he was in that army on the part of the French, and I was in the other, of the English. When the next day came, which was Friday, the 25th day of October in the year 1415, the French, that is to say the constable of France, and all the other officers of the kingdom, the dukes of Orleans, Bar, Alençon, the counts of Nevers, Eu, Richemont, Vendosme, Marle, Vaudemont, Blamont, Saluces, Grampert, Reussy, Dampmartin, and generally all the other nobles and soldiers, equipped themselves and issued from their quarters; and then, by the advice of the constable's council and other experienced persons of the king's

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archers.<sup>k</sup> The van being a line of infantry, all selected from the nobles and

council, it was ordered that the army should be formed into three lines, that is to say, the advance guard, the main body, and the rear guard. In the advance guard were placed about eight thousand bacinets, knights, and esquires, and a few archers, which was led by the constable, and with him the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts of Eu and Richmond, the marshal Boucicault, the commander of the archlesters, the lord of Dampierre, admiral of France, messire Guichart le Dauphin, and other captains; and the comte of Vendosme, and other officers of the king, with sixteen hundred men at arms, were ordered to form a wing to attack the English on one side; and the other wing commanded by messire Clignet de Brabant, admiral, and messire Louis de Bourbon, with eight hundred select men at arms mounted, as they say, and as I have since heard, with which commanders above mentioned were, to break the line of the English, messire William de Saveuse, Hector and Philip his brothers, Ferry de Mailly, Alinaume de Capaines, Allain de Vendouacs, Lanion de Launay, and many others to the number before mentioned. And in the main body were placed a number of knights and esquires, who were commanded by the dukes of Bar and Alençon, the comtes of Nevers, and Vendosme, of Vaudemont, Blammont, Salmes, Grampert, and Rensay. In the rear guard were all the remainder of the soldiers, led by the comtes of Marle, Dampmartin, and Fauqueburgue, and the lord of Lougroy, captain of Ardre, who had brought those of the frontier of Boulenois. After the order of battle was thus formed, they made a noble appearance, and as nearly as could be estimated, they seemed to be full three times as many as the English. They then rested and divided themselves into companies, each round his proper banner, waiting the approach of the English, and mutually forgave the hatred which they had felt towards

<sup>k</sup> Walsingham says, that Henry's army did not exceed eight thousand archers, and men at arms, that great part

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choicest of them, forming a forest of lances, with a great multitude of hel-

each other, and embraced and made peace, so that it was affecting to see them. All disputes and discords which had formerly existed among them, gave place to affection; some eat and drank what they had; and they were thus occupied until nine or ten o'clock of the morning, as I was told, feeling sure from their great numbers, that the English could not escape out of their hands."

of them were afflicted with the malady contracted at Harfleur, and that the number of the French was increased to a hundred and forty thousand men at arms. He also remarks, that there had been a want of bread in the army, so that many used filberd nuts in the place of bread, and roasted flesh, that water had been the drink of the men of inferior rank in the army, for the space of about eighteen days; and that it was "with these dainties, these refreshments, the champions of the king of England were nourished and fed, who were about to combat with so many thousands of giants!" "When the king of England had addressed his army in the manner before related, they cried out loudly saying, 'Sir, we pray God give you a good life, and the victory over your enemies.' The king having thus admonished his people, and being mounted upon a small horse, placed himself before his banner, and then proceeded with all his battalions in very fine order towards his enemies, and deputed persons in whom he had great confidence, to meet and communicate with several celebrated Frenchmen, the which French and English met between the two armies, I know not at whose request, but true it is, that overtures and offers were there made from one side and the other, for a peace between the two kings and kingdoms of France and England and it was proposed on the part of France, as I have heard, that if he would renounce the title which he pretended to the crown of France, and wholly abandon and relinquish it, and give up the town of Harfleur which he had lately taken, the king would be willing to allow him to retain what he held in Guienne, and that which he held by ancient

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mets shining among them, and the horse in the flanks, making a number, by computation, thirty times greater than all ours. But the troops and squadrons

conquest in Picardy. The king of England, or his people replied, that if the king of France would surrender the duchy of Guyenne, and five cities which he named, and which belonged, and ought to form part of the duchy of Guyenne, and the comte of Ponthieu, and give him Katherine his daughter in marriage, with 800,000 crowns for her jewels and clothes, he would renounce his title to the French crown, and give up Harfleur. Which offers and demands not being accepted by either side, each returned to his army. As no hopes of peace remained, each side prepared for battle. every English archer had, as has been before said, a stake sharp at both ends, which he placed before him, and by which they secured themselves. The French had drawn up their lines between two small woods, the one close to Azincourt, and the other to Tramecourt. The ground was narrow, and very advantageous for the English, and the contrary for the French, for the latter had been all that night on horseback in the rain; and pages and valets and others, in walking their horses had broken up the ground which was soft, and in which the horses sunk in such a manner that it was with great difficulty they could get up again. Besides, the French were so loaded with armour, that they could not advance: first, they were armed in long coats of steel reaching to their knees, and very heavy, below which was armour for their legs, and above white harness, and hacinets with camails, and so heavily were they armed, that together with the softness of the ground, it was with great difficulty they could lift their weapons. They had a great number of banners, it having been commanded that many should be displayed, and it was also ordered among the French, that each should shorten his lance, so that they might be the stiffer when they came to action. They had sufficient archers and arblestiers, but they were unable to use their bows, from the narrowness of the place, which did not afford room for more than the men at arms." *St. Remy.*



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composing their rear-guard and wings, were all on horse-back, as if prepared for flight rather than for battle, and compared with us were an innumerable multitude. Our king in the mean time, after giving praises to God and hearing mass, disposed himself on the plain not far from his quarters, and had formed one line of battle, placing the van-guard commanded by the Duke of York, as a wing on the right, and his rear-guard commanded by the Lord de Camoys, as a wing on the left, with the archers in the form of a wedge between the wings, making them fix their poles before them, as had been before determined, to prevent them being broken through by the horse; and when the enemy learnt this by their scouts, either on that account, or from some other wariness, God knows, they kept at a distance opposite to us without approaching.<sup>1</sup> And when a great

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<sup>1</sup> *Titus Livius*, p. 17, says, "the French were more than thirty-one men deep in every line, whilst the English lines were only of the depth of four men, and that the field was too small to

## The Battle of Agincourt. . . . .xciii

part of the day had been spent in delay of this sort, and both armies stood with-

allow them to act." He states, "that the French army had balisters of all sizes, from which they threw stones on the English. Whilst Henry was deliberating whether he should await the attack of the enemy, three French noblemen came to him, among whom was the lord of Hely, who had formerly been a prisoner in England, and informed the king that he and some of his countrymen had heard that it had been said that he had quitted him disgracefully, and in a manner unbecoming a knight, which report he was then ready to prove untrue, and that if any of his host had the hardihood to reproach him with the same, he desired that he would prepare for single combat, and that he would prove upon him the falsehood of the accusation. The king replied, 'that no combat of the kind should then take place upon the subject, but that another occasion would be more convenient.'—'Return then to your host,' said the king, 'and desire them to approach before night arrives, and we trust in God, that as you disregarded the honor of knighthood, by escaping from us you will this day either be retaken, or terminate your life by the sword.' The lord replied, 'that he would not warn his companions at his command, that they were then in the realm of king Charles, whose orders they would obey, and not his; and that they who were his subjects would come to battle at their own pleasure, and not at his.'—'Depart hence to your host,' rejoined Henry, 'and whatever speed you may use, shall not be so great but that we will be there soon after you.' Immediately the king ordered his banners to advance, and his host proceeded in three lines in regular order; and he commanded the priests to offer up prayers and supplications, and the heralds to fulfil their duties." The English then fell prostrate to the earth, and committed themselves to the protection of God, and each of them put a little piece of earth into his mouth, in remembrance, (as the translator states), that they were mortal and formed of dust, or of the holy communion, and at about twenty paces from the village of Agincourt the battle began. The English line extended as far as the ground would allow, but the French had formed their line in two sharp fronts, like two horns, increasing towards the rear.

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out moving a foot one against the other, the king determined to advance towards them, seeing that the opposing multitude deferred the charge which he had expected from them, and stood so across our route as either to break up our array, or terrify us by their number; or else intended to impede our route, or were expecting more auxiliaries who might be on their way, or at least knowing our want of provisions, would conquer by famine those whom with the sword they dare not attack.<sup>m</sup>

"The king seeing that his men assembled with cheerfulness and ardour, soon after led them forth into a field fresh sown with wheat, where it was scarcely possible to stand or walk, on account of the ruggedness and softness of the soil, and that the French for the same reason, would not advance far into the field; between the two armies the field extended to the width of almost a mile." *Walsingham.*

<sup>m</sup> The notes requisite to embrace so much of every contemporary writer's account of the battle as present those statements in which they at all differ from the text, and at the same time to keep their narratives connected, are so extensive, that it is not always possible to put them in their proper places. The following is *Monstrelet's* description of that memorable event. "On Friday the 25th of October, in the year 1415, the constable and all the other officers of the king of France, the dukes of Orleans, Bourbon, Bar, and Alençon, the counts de Nevers, d'Eu, de Richemonte, de Vendôme, de Marle, de Vaudemont, de Blamonte, de Salines, de Grand Pre, de Roussy, de Dampmartin, and in general all the

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And he ordered the baggage<sup>n</sup> of the army to the rear of the battle, for

other nobles and men at arms, put on their armour and sallied out of their quarters. Then, by the advice of the constable and others of the king of France's council, the army was formed into three divisions, the van-guard, the main body, and the rear-guard. The van consisted of about eight thousand helmets, knights, and esquires, four thousand archers, and fifteen hundred cross-bows. This was commanded by the constable, having with him the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts d'Eu and de Richemont, the marshal Boucicaut, the master of the cross-bows, the lord de Dampierre, admiral of France, sir Guichart Dauphin, and some others. The count de Vendôme, and others of the king's officers were to form a wing of fifteen hundred men at arms, to fall on the right flank of the English; and another wing, under the command of sir Clugnet de Brabant admiral of France, sir Louis Bourdon and eight hundred picked men at arms, was to attack the left flank: with this last were included, to break in on the English archers, sir William de Saveuses, with his brothers sir Hector and sir Philippe, Ferry de Mailly, Aliaume de Gasparmes, Allain de Vendôme, Lamont de Launoy, and many more. The main battalion was composed of an equal number of

<sup>n</sup> *Walsingham's* account of the attack on the baggage is curious, but as the part relating to the French believing themselves victors, is wholly unsupported by other writers, it must be read with suspicion. "Whilst the king and his men were engaged in the battle, fighting in close contact with the multitude of the French, the French plunderers seizing upon the baggage left in the rear, stole and carried it all off. In which, when they had found the royal crown, they cheered one another with a vain joy, so that they caused the trumpets to be solemnly blown, and the hymn of praise *Te Deum laudamus* to be sung with the greatest exultation. For they had spread a false report that the king was taken, and was coming without delay. But after a little while, when they were informed by a sad messenger of the truth, their dance was turned into grief, and their joy into mourning."

## exerci. . . . The Battle of Azincourt

fear it should fall into the enemy's hands, it having been placed, together

knight, esquire, and archers as the van, and commanded by the dukes of Bar and Alençon, the counts de Nevers, de Vaudemont, de Blamont, de Salines, de Grand-pré, and de Roussy. The rear guard consisted of the surplus of men at arms, under the orders of the counts de Marle, de Dampmartin, de Fauquem-bergh, and the lord de Lourroy, governor of Ardrea, who had led thither the garrisons on the frontiers of the Boulonois. When these battalions were all drawn up, it was a grand sight to view, and they were, on a hasty survey, estimated to be more than six times the number of the English. After they had been thus ar-ranged, they seated themselves by companies as near to their own banners as they could, to wait the coming of the enemy; and while they refreshed themselves with food, they made up all differences that might have before existed between any of them. In this state they remained until between nine and ten o'clock in the morning, no way doubting, from their numbers, but the Eng-lish must fall an easy prey to them. Some, however, of the wisest of them had their fears, and dreaded the event of an open battle. The English on that morning, perceiving that the French made no advances to attack them, refreshed themselves with ment and drink. After calling on the divine aid against the French, who seemed to despise them, they dislodged from Maisoucelles, and sent some of their light troops in the rear of the town of Azincourt, where, not finding any men at arms, in order to alarm the French, they set fire to a barn and house belonging to the priory of St. George at Hesdin. On the other hand, the king of England dispatched about two hundred archers to the rear of his army, with orders to enter the village of Tramecourt\* secretly, and to post themselves in a field near the van of the French, there to remain quiet until it should be proper time for them to use their bows. The rest of the English remained with king Henry, and were shortly after drawn up in battle array by sir Thomas Erpingham; a knight grown grey with age and honour, who placed the archers in front, and the men at

\* Tramecourt, a village of Artois, in the bailiwick of St. Pol.



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with the priests who were about to officiate and pray earnestly for the king

arms behind them. He then formed two wings of men at arms and archers, and posted the horses with the baggage in the rear. Each archer planted himself before a stake sharpened at both ends. Sir Thomas, in the name of the king, exhorted them all most earnestly to defend their lives, and thus saying he rode along their ranks attended by two persons. When all was done to his satisfaction, he flung into the air a truncheon which he held in his hand, crying out, 'Nestrocquel' \* and then dismounted, as the king and the others had done. When the English saw sir Thomas throw up his truncheon, they set up a loud shout, to the very great astonishment of the French. The English seeing the enemy not inclined to advance, marched towards them in handsome array, and with repeated huzzas, occasionally stopping to recover their breath. The archers, who were hidden in the field, re-echoed these shoutings, at the same time discharging their bows, while the English army kept advancing upon the French. The archers, amounting to at least thirteen thousand, let off a shower of arrows, with all their might, and as high as possible, so as not to lose their effect: they were, for the most part, without any armour, and in jackets, with their hose loose, and hatchets or swords hanging to their girdles. some indeed were barefooted and without hats. The princes with the king of England were the duke of York, his uncle, the earls of Dorset, Oxford, Suffolk, the earl marshal, the earl of Kent, the lords Cambré, Beaumont, Willoughby, sir John de Cornewall, and many other powerful barons of England. When the French observed the English thus advance, they drew up each under his banner, with his helmet on his head: they were, at the same time, admonished by the constable, and others of the princes, to confess their sins with sincere contrition, and to fight boldly against the enemy. The English loudly sounded their trumpets as they approached; and the French stooped to prevent the arrows hitting them on the vizors of their helmets; thus the distance

\* 'Hollingshed says, his throw ng up his truncheon was for a signal to the archers posted in the field at Tramecourt to commence the battle.'

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and his men in the before-mentioned villages and closes, with directions to

was now but small between the two armies, although the French had retired some paces: before, however, the general attack commenced, numbers of the French were slain and severely wounded by the English bowmen. At length the English gained on them so much, and were so close, that excepting the front line, and such as had shortened their lances, the enemy could not raise their hands against them. The division under sir Clugnet de Brabant, of eight hundred men at arms, who were intended to break through the English archers, were reduced to seven score, who vainly attempted it. True it is, that sir William de Savauses, who had been also ordered on this service, quitted his troop, thinking they would follow him, to attack the English, but he was shot dead from off his horse. The others had their horses so severely handled by the archers, that, smarting from pain, they galloped on the van division, and threw it into the utmost confusion, breaking the line in many places. The horses were become unmanageable, so that horses and riders were tumbling on the ground, and the whole army was thrown into disorder, and forced back on some lands that had been just sown with corn. Others, from fear of death, fled, and this caused so universal a panic in the army that great part followed the example. The English took instant advantage of the disorder in the van division, and, throwing down their bows, fought lustily with swords, hatchets, mallets and bill-hooks, slaying all before them. Thus they came to the second battalion, that had been posted in the rear of the first; and the archers closely followed king Henry and his men at arms. Duke Anthony of Brabant, who had just arrived in obedience to the summons of the king of France, threw himself with a small company (for, to make greater haste, he had pushed forward, leaving the main body of his men behind,) between the wreck of the van and the second division; but he was instantly killed by the English, who kept advancing and slaying without mercy all that opposed them, and thus destroyed the main battalion as they had done the first. They were, from time to time, relieved by their varlets, who carried off the pri-

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wait till the end of the battle; for the French plunderers had already on

soners; for the English were so intent on victory, that they never attended to making prisoners, nor pursuing such as fled. The whole rear division being on horseback, witnessing the defeat of the two others, began to fly, excepting some of its principal chiefs. During the heat of the combat, when the English had gained the upper hand and made several prisoners, news was brought to king Henry, that the French were attacking his rear, and had already captured the greater part of his baggage and sumpter-horses. This was indeed true, for Robinet de Bournouville, Rissart de Clamasse, Ysambart d'Azincourt, and some other men at arms, with about six hundred peasants, had fallen upon and taken great part of the king's baggage, and a number of horses while the guard was occupied in the battle. This distressed the king very much, for he saw that though the French army had been routed they were collecting on different parts of the plain in large bodies, and he was afraid they would renew the battle. He therefore caused instant proclamation to be made by sound of trumpet, that every one should put his prisoners to death, to prevent them from aiding the enemy, should the combat be renewed. This caused an instantaneous and general massacre of the French prisoners, occasioned by the disgraceful conduct of Robinet de Bournouville, Ysambart d'Azincourt, and the others, who were afterward punished for it, and imprisoned a very long time by duke John of Burgundy, notwithstanding they had made a present to the count de Charolois of a most precious sword, ornamented with diamonds, that had belonged to the king of England. They had taken this sword, with other rich jewels, from king Henry's baggage, and had made this present, that, in case they should at any time be called to an account for what they had done, the count might stand their friend. The count de Marle, the count de Flanders, the lords de Louvroy and du Chin, had with some difficulty retained about six hundred men at arms, with whom they made a gallant charge on the English; but it availed nothing, for they were all killed or made prisoners. There were other small bodies of

## ... The Battle of Azincourt.

every side, their eyes upon it, with an intention of attacking it as soon as they

the French on different parts of the plain; but they were soon routed, slain, or taken. The conclusion was a complete victory on the part of the king of England, who only lost about sixteen hundred men of all ranks: among the slain was the duke of York, uncle to the king. On the eve of this battle, and the following morning, before it began, there were upwards of five hundred knights made by the French. When the king of England found himself master of the field of battle, and that the French, excepting such as had been killed or taken, were flying in all directions, he made the circuit of the plain, attended by his princes, and while his men were employed in stripping the dead, he called to him the French herald Montjoye king at arms, and with him many other French and English heralds, and said to them, 'It is not we who have made this great slaughter, but the Omnipotent God, and, as we believe, for a punishment of the sins of the French.' He then asked Montjoye, to whom the victory belonged, to him, or to the king of France. Montjoye replied, 'that the victory was his, and could not be claimed by the king of France.' The king then asked the name of the castle he saw near him: he was told it was called Azincourt. 'Well then,' added he, 'since all battles should bear the names of the fortress nearest to the spot where they were fought, this battle shall from henceforth bear the ever durable name of AZINCOURT.' The English remained a considerable time on the field, and seeing they were delivered from their enemies, and that night was approaching, they retreated in a body to Maisenelles, where they had lodged the preceding night: they again fixed their quarters there, carrying with them many of their wounded. After they had quitted the field of battle, several of the French, half dead and wounded, crawled away into an adjoining wood, or to some villages, as well as they could, where many expired. On the morrow, very early, king Henry dislodged with his army from Maisenelles, and returned to the field of battle; all the French they found there alive were put to death or made prisoners. Then, pursuing their road toward the sea-coast, they marched



## The Battle of Agincourt. . . . .eci

saw both armies engage; and upon the rear of which, where by the inactivity of

away. three parts of the army were on foot sorely fatigued with their efforts in the late battle, and greatly distressed by famine and other wants. In this manner did the king of England return, without any hindrance, to Calais, rejoicing at his great victory, and leaving the French in the utmost distress and consternation at the enormous loss they had suffered." He then gives the names of the French lords and gentlemen who were slain at the battle, and which will be found in a subsequent page. In short, the numbers of persons, including princes, knights, and men of every degree, slain that day, amounted to upward of ten thousand, according to the estimates of heralds and other able persons. The bodies of the greater part were carried away by their friends after the departure of the English, and buried where it was agreeable to them. Of these ten thousand, it was supposed only sixteen hundred were of low degree, the rest all gentlemen, for in counting the princes, there were one hundred and six score banners destroyed. During the battle, the duke of Alençon most valiantly broke through the English line, and advanced, fighting, near to the king, insomuch that he wounded and struck down the duke of York: king Henry, seeing this, stepped forth to his aid, and as he was leaning down to raise him, the duke of Alençon gave him a blow on the helmet that struck off part of his crown. The king's guards on this surrounded him, when, seeing he could no way escape death but by surrendering, he lifted up his arm, and said to the king, 'I am the duke of Alençon and yield myself to you,' but, as the king was holding out his hand to receive his pledge, he was put to death by the guards. At this period, the lord de Longny marshal of France, as I have said, was hastening with six hundred men at arms attached to the king of Sicily, to join the French, and was within one league of them, when he met many wounded and more running away, who bade him return, for that the lords of France were all slain or made prisoners by the English. In consequence, Longny, with grief at heart and in despair, went to the king of France at Rouen. It was supposed, that about fifteen hundred knights and gentlemen were this day made prisoners.



## ccii. . . . The Battle of Agincourt.

the royal vassals the baggage of the king was, they did fall as soon as the battle began, carrying off the royal treasures, the sword and crown, with other jewels, and all the household stuff.<sup>o</sup>

the names of the principal are, Charles duke of Orleans, the duke of Bourbon, the count d'Eu, the count de Vendôme, the count de Richemont, sir James de Harcourt, sir John de Craon lord of Dompant, the lord de Hunieres, the lord de Roze, the lord de Cauny, sir Boors Quieret lord of Hencl in, sir Peter Quieret lord of Hamecourt, the lord de Ligne in Hainault, the lord de No yelle, surnamed le Chevalier Blanc, Bando his son, the young lord of Inchy, sir John de Vaucourt, sir Actis de Brimen, sir Jonnet de Poix, the eldest son and heir to the lord de Ligne, sir Gilbert de Launoy, the lord d' Ancob in Ternois." *Johnes' translation.*

<sup>o</sup> A document in the *Fœdera*, tome ix. pp. 366-7, presents the following account of the plate and jewels lost on this occasion. The articles in question evidently belonged to the king, and were probably carried to France for his personal use, or for that of his household. It is an acquittance from the king, dated at Westminster, 1st June 1416, to Roger Leche, late treasurer of the king's household, John Haregrove, servant of the king's pantry, the bishop of Norwich, Simon Buche, formerly treasurer of the king's household, and several other persons, for the articles hereafter enumerated, which were in their custody, but lost on that occasion.

A saltcellar of gold, enamelled with links and collars.

A long serpentine,<sup>2</sup> weighing 2 lb. 5 oz troy weight, valued at £16 a pound, and 26s. 8d. an oz. is £46 11s. 4d.

Thirteen spoons of white silver, marked with a small crown, weighing according to the same weight, 1 lb. 3½ oz., which at 30s. the pound, and at 2s. 6d. an ounce, is 38s. 9d.

Three saltcellars of silver gilt with covers, with the tops

<sup>2</sup> *Darunge* explains 'serpentine' to be a precious stone, called 'serpentine' and cites this example in illustration of the use of the word.

## The Battle of Agincourt. . . . cccii

And when the king thought that almost all the baggage had arrived in the rear, invoking the name of Jesus, to whom bows every knee of things in heaven, of things in earth, and of things under the earth, and also of the glorious Virgin, and St. George, he moved towards the enemy; who then advanced; but I who write this, sitting on horse-back among the baggage in the rear of the battle, and the other priests who were there, did then and whilst the conflict lasted, humble our souls before God: and remembering which at that time the Church was reading, we said in our hearts, 'Remember us, Oh

in the form of bells, marked with swans enamelled, weighing 7 lb. 7 oz. at 60s. a pound and 5s. the ounce, is £22 15s.

A spoon of white silver, marked with a small crown, weighing one ounce, value 2s. 6d.

A spoon of gold not marked, weighing 2 oz. 7 pennyweights, 1 obolus, value at 26s. 8d. an ounce, and 16d. the pennyweight, is 63s. 4d.

Six spoons of white silver not marked, weighing 6½ oz. at 2s. 6d. an ounce, 15s. 17½d.

Seven spoons of white silver not marked, weighing 6½ oz. at 2s. 6d. an ounce, 16s. 10½d.

A salt cellar of gold of morask work, garnished with two amethysts, with a Scotch pebble on the top, and with many little garnets red and green, value £10 in money.

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Lord! Our enemies are gathered together and boast in their might; shatter their strength, and disperse them, that they may know that there is none other that fighteth for us but only thou our God.' Also under fear and trembling in our eyes, we cried unto heaven, beseeching God to have compassion upon us and the crown of England, and not to suffer the prayers and tears which the English churchmen had poured out, and probably at that hour were pouring out for us in their accustomed processions, to become fruitless; but would admit them to the bosom of his graciousness, and not permit our king, devoted to the worship of God, the emolument of the church, and peace of the realm, to be destroyed by the enemy; but rather in the declared munificence of his mercy, would now and hereafter exalt and mercifully deliver us from these perilous events as from others.

And now coming within reach of the enemy, the horsemen of the French

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posted along the flanks, began to attack our archers on both sides of the army.]

P "The night being spent, but Titow not yet risen above the horizon, the dawn of Friday on which the martyrdom of the blessed Crispin and Crispinian is celebrated, the king neglected not to lead out his troops into the field, and thinking that his adversaries would be more engaged in fighting than plundering, he ordered the horses of his men, and whatever other things his army had brought with them except their arms, to be left in the village in which they had been quartered in the night, assigned to the custody of a few soldiers. But that his army, because they were very small in comparison with the French, might be able to fight without a wide separation, he arrayed it for battle in this manner. To the middle battalion, which he himself commanded, and in which, under the mercy of God, he proposed to fight, he assigned a convenient place, about the middle of the field, so that it might come in contact with the middle battalion of the enemy. On his right, at scarcely any distance, he placed the advanced guard of his army, and joined to it the wing stationed at his right hand. But on the king's left hand was the rear guard of the army, to which the left wing was joined in like manner. These being so arrayed, the providence of the divine favour was manifestly shown, which provided for so small an army, to sit in a field, enclosed within hedges and brakes, and with coppices or hedges on the sides, to protect them from being surrounded by the enemy's ambuscades. Now the king was clad in armour and very bright armour: he wore also on his head a helmet, with a large splendid crest, and a crown of gold and jewels, and on his body a surcoat, with the arms of England and France; from which a celestial splendor issued on the one side from three golden flowers, planted in an azure field, on the other, from three golden leopards, sporting in a ruby field. The prince himself, sitting on a noble horse of snowy whiteness, having also horses in waiting decorated in royal style, with the richest trappings, marvellously excited his army to martial deeds. The peers also, on the king's side, were arrayed



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But by the will of God, they were quickly compelled amidst showers of darts, to

with coats of their arms, as it became such persons about to be engaged in conflict. And when the king heard some wishing that whatever peers of the realm of England, who were well affected thereto were present at this affair, the king replied "Truly I would not, that by one single person the number should be increased. For if in the multitude of fighting men we were equal to, or perhaps stronger than our enemies, and they were delivered over into our own hands by the chances of war, our indiscrete judgments would attribute the victory to the magnitude of our strength, and so due praise would by no means be paid. But if, after God's own manifold chastisement for our crimes, the divine sentence should determine to deliver us into the enemy's hands, certainly then our army would be too great to be exposed, which God forb'd, to so great a misfortune. But if the divine compassion should deign to deliver up so many adversaries to such a trifling number of fighting men, we should think so great victory certainly bestowed by God upon ourselves, and to return to him, not to our own multitude the praise. Behold' he who is splendidly and safely defended and armed in body with bodily arms, is protected in mind much more gloriously by stable hope and unbroken fortitude." "The enemy, disdainig the sluggishness and inactivity of the king's army, endeavoured to prepare their numerous battalions in proper order for battle. They arrayed their troops after their own manner, as the king had disposed his yet the breadth of the plain was not sufficient to reduce so numerous a people into fit martial array. For whereas the English army, through all its fronts, was scarcely strengthened with stations of six men, one behind another crossways, all the French posts were strengthened with stations of xx or more fighting men, one behind another, through their whole extent. Also in the outside flank of their army were placed a thousand soldiers, to break through the lines of the English, with the impetuosity of their horses; also certain 'saxivorn,' stone-casting engines, which might disperse the English when about to en-



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retreat, and to fly to the hindermost ranks; with the exception of a very few

gage, or at least put them out of order, were in like manner placed along the flanks of the army. But the number of standards and other warlike ensigns, which, fastened on the points of lances, rustling in the air with the wind, was displayed to the French army, seemed to exceed the multitude of lances in the English army; neither in times past, at least that can easily be called to memory, was there ever such an immense multitude assembled in the French dominions, of so many noble and mighty men, so strongly and splendidly equipped. Also the noble men of the adverse party thought themselves so secure of victory, that some, through very great hurry, left their servants and others, that are generally required in such circumstances, behind them, and thinking they were hastening to victory and honour, rushed suddenly into captivity, and death. Amongst whom was the duke of Brabant, who, not having brought his standards, formed one of a standard that was hanging to a trumpet, and was slain in the conflict. The troops being thus drawn up across the fields on both sides, and being distant from each other the space of three bow shots or thereabouts, each army expecting the other, but neither moving towards the other for a long space of time. Yet the French cavalry putting themselves a little forward into the field, were at the king's command, forced to retreat precipitately into the army, by some of the king's archers. also certain French barons, according to a desire they expressed, came into the king's presence, and without being able to ascertain any thing the king purposed to do, were ordered quickly to depart into their own army. Now when the king considered that a great part of the short day was already past, and very readily believed, that the French were not inclined to move from their stations, he consulted the most experienced officers of his army, what they should determine to do, viz, whether he should advance with his troops, in the order in which they stood, towards the enemy's troops, who refused to come towards him, who having fully considered

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who ran between the archers and the woods, yet not without slaughter and

the circumstances of so important an affair, determined that the king should march with his army towards the enemy, and mightily charge them in the name of God. For they considered that the English army, very much wearied with hunger, diseases and fatigue, was not likely to obtain any refreshment in the enemy's country, and the longer they remained there, so much the more they would subject them to the effects of debility and exhaustion: on the contrary, the army of the enemy situated amongst friends, readily obtained whatever was convenient for them, and through delay, gathered fresh and increased strength. Therefore the king's advisers finally concluded that delay was injurious to the English, but advantageous to the French. Notwithstanding the king thought it difficult and hazardous to depart from his position, yet with the greatest intrepidity he set his army an example how they should direct their march towards the enemy, yet preserving the order of their former array. He commanded that his own chaplains, and all the priests of his army should be engaged in prayer, and that the heralds should diligently attend to their own duties alone, instead of using arms. Without more delay both the men at arms, without caring for their burdensome arms, and the archers leaving behind them in the field their sharp stakes, which they had before prepared in case of meeting the French horsemen, all having bended the knee, and taken particles of earth upon their faces, with a warlike clamour penetrating the skies, with wonderful impetuosity intrepidly flew along the plains, and their outward gesture displayed how much courage rose in their bosoms. And when they had approached towards the enemy's ranks, to the distance of twenty paces, not far from Agincourt, and the sounds of the trumpets reaching the very air, had roused the minds of the warriors to battle, the enemy now first stirring himself, proceeded to meet the English. Immediately the battle commenced with such fury, that at the first attack of such brave soldiers, by the dire shocks of lances,

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wounds: yea, with the exception also of a great many, both horses and horse-

and impetuous blows of swords and other weapons, the joints of their strong armour were violently broken, and men of the first rank on both sides inflicted deadly wounds. But on the other side, the warlike hands of archers, with their strong and numerous volleys, covered the air with clouds, shedding as a cloud laden with a shower, an intolerable multitude of piercing arrows, and inflicting wounds on the horses, either threw the French horsemen who were arrayed to charge them to the ground, or forced them to retreat, and so their dreadful and formidable purpose was defeated. In this deadly conflict, amongst other things it is to be remembered, that that bright shining Titan of kings so much exposed the precious treasure of his own person to every event of war, that he thundered upon his adversaries impetuous horrors and intolerable assaults. Nor did his martial fury grant to the royal dignity an exemption from hostile assaults and heavy blows, for from the crown encircling the king's helmet a certain piece was beaten off, yea, if the prince himself had been of inferior rank amongst the combatants, yet he would have been, on account of his extraordinary gallantry, crowned with a laurel of honour above the rest. Also the noble duke of Gloucester, the king's brother, pushing himself perhaps too vigorously on his horse into the conflict, was grievously wounded and cast down to the earth by the blows of the French; for whose protection the king being interested, he bravely leapt against his enemy's, in defence of his brother, defended him with his own body, and plucked and guarded him from the raging malice of the enemy's sustaining perils of war scarcely possible to be borne. It happened also, that this most victorious prince, with that part of the army which he himself commanded, first conquered those opposed to him, who being dispersed when the king had turned aside with his soldiers to the aid of his foremost line, he saw before him another numerous battalion of French preparing themselves in the field for battle against himself and his army, to whom it was necessary for the king to march with those around him. Yet after a while all the king's battalions,

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men, who were arrested in their flight by the fires, stakes, and sharp arrows, so that they could not escape far. But the

both foremost and hindermost, and each wing having overthrown their enemies, became victorious; and the English already wearied, and for the most part destitute of arms fit to charge with, fearing on account of the French arraying themselves for battle, to enter upon a new conflict, lest the captives which they had taken should rush upon them when they fought, murdered many of them, although noble, with the sword. But the king commanded, by a message of heralds to those French, who as we have said above, still occupied the fields, that they should either come to battle, or speedily withdraw from his sight, knowing that if they should again array themselves to fight, that both themselves and the captives yet remaining would perish without mercy, with the direst revenge that the English could inflict. Then, dreading the effect of so severe a resolution, all the adversaries confused with fear, shame, and grief, retreated with one accord from the field. And by the divine grace having gained so glorious a triumph, the magnanimous king having overcome his enemies, remaining in the field in which the battle was fought, was gratefully mindful to return thanks most devoutly to the bestower of so great a victory. And because on the festival of St. Crispin and Crispian so great a victory was given him, every day during his life, he heard mention of them in one of his masses. In this very great battle on the French side there had fallen slain, the duke of Alençon, the duke of Barre, the archbishop of Sens, as it is said, the duke of Brabant, the earl of L., the earl of Demvant, the count of Marle, the earl of Granture, the earl of Sauran, the earl of Daufonment, the lord de la Byrt, and of others between ix and x thousand fighting men; but there were taken captive, the duke of Orleans, the duke of Bourbon, Arthur de Bretagne, the earl of Vandom, the earl of Ewe, John de Mangre, called Burcigald. But on the part of the English, the duke of York, the earl of Suffolk, and of others about C were killed." *Etonham.*



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enemy's cross-bow men, who were behind the rear of the armed men and on the flanks, after the first but too hasty discharge, in which they hurt very few, retreated, from the fear of our bows. And when the armed men on both sides had nearly approached to one another, the flanks of both armies (viz. ours and the adversaries') immersed into the woods at each side. But when the French nobility, who at first approached in full front, had nearly joined battle, either from fear of the arrows, which by their impetuosity pierced through the sides and beavers of their helmets, or that they might more speedily penetrate our ranks to the standards, then divided themselves into three troops, charging our battle in the three places where the standards were : and intermingling their spears closely, they assaulted our men with so ferocious an impetuosity, that they compelled them to retreat almost at spears length ;<sup>a</sup> and then we

<sup>a</sup> *Des Ursins*, p. 315, says, ' On our people approaching the English they found the ground ploughed, and softened by the rain



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who were assigned to clerical warfare,  
upon beholding it, fell upon our faces in

which had fallen in that week, in consequence of which they had difficulty in proceeding. And when they expected to find 400 horsemen, who had been appointed the day before to break the English line, they did not find forty, but when they came near the English, not one of our archers or arblastiers shot either arrow or fire. It was eight in the morning, and our people had the sun in their eyes, the better to bear which, and to avoid the arrows of the English, they bent their heads to the ground. When the English saw the manner in which they came towards them, through which our people did not perceive them until just before they struck them with their hatchets, and the archers who were behind in ambush assailed them with arrows in the rear. Moreover the horsemen whom the English had placed in the wood, before mentioned, rushed on them in crowds, and came from behind on our second line, which was at the distance of two lances from the first; and the English horsemen uttered such a great and frightful cry that they terrified all our people, so that those of the second line took to flight, and all those who were in the first line, lords and others, were all either killed or taken. And on that day the king of England gained the victory, which was the most disgraceful event that had ever happened to the kingdom of France." *Pierre de Penin's* account is very similar to that of *St. Remy* before cited, hence the following passages alone require insertion. "In truth, the French were without comparison many more in number than the English, and had among them a much nobler assembly. The French were composed of three lines, the advanced guard in which they placed the greater part of their nobility, and the flower of their army, a very strong main body, and a rear guard." He also corroborates *St. Remy's* statement, that a negotiation took place on the day of battle. "On that day there was a great conference [*pourparler*] between the two armies, and king Henry was in great dread that day, but they could not agree, in consequence of which the battle took place. There came the lord de Hely, who had been a long time prisoner in England, who fully believed that the French would have been successful,

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veneration before the throne of God;  
crying out in bitterness of spirit for God

but it happened quite otherwise," &c. *Fenn* agrees with *Monstrelet* in stating, that the two individuals, who led the attack upon Henry's baggage, were much blamed, and were afterwards punished by the duke of Bourgoigne. The only remaining passage deserving of notice, is his account of the loss of the two armies, he says, that "three or four thousand of the French were killed on the field, and that a great many were taken prisoners, whilst Henry lost only from four to five hundred." p. 460. The statement of *Berry*, first herald to Charles VI. in his *Chronicle*, is merely curious, excepting in the parts which are extracted, for his description of the extent and arrangement of the two armies, but his account must be received with caution, for it is in material points contradicted by every other writer, but as he was contemporary with the period, it could not with propriety be omitted. "In the right wing was the comte de Richemont, under him the viscount de Ballers, and le sire de Cambours, and 600 men at arms. The left wing was led by the comte de Vendosme, master of the king's household, with whom were the baron d'Jury, le sire de Baequeville, (al' Hacqueville,) le sire d'Aumont, le sire de Roche-guyon, and all the chamberlains, esquires, cup-bearers, 'pannetiers,' and other officers of the king, and 600 men at arms. In the advanced guard were the sire d'Albark, constable of France, and Bouciqualt, marshal, with 3000 men at arms, besides which there was the duke de Bourbon, who had 1200 men at arms; and also the Duke of Orleans, with 600 men at arms, which the sire de Gaules commanded for him. In the main body was the duke Edward de Bar, with 600 men at arms; the comte d'Eu and 300 men at arms. Moreover there were, messire Robert de Bar, comte d'Annalle, al's de Marle, with 400 men at arms. There were likewise present the comte de Vandemont, brother of the duke of Lorraine, with 300 men at arms, the comte de Roussy, and de Brains with 200 men at arms. John Moosengneur de Bar, brother of the duke of Bar, with 200 men at arms, and the duke de Brabant, brother of the duke of Bourgogne, who brought few followers, but all the

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still to remember us and the crown  
of England, and by the grace of his su-

barons of Hainault who were there, placed themselves under his banner. In that assembly of the French were sal 10 000 men at arms, of which the greater part were knights and esquires. The king of England had in his army, with those of his blood and lineage, 1500 knights and esquires, with from 16 to 18,000 archers "—He found the French in slight order and small numbers, for some were gone to warm themselves, and others to walk, or were causing their horses to be fed, not thinking that the English had hardihood enough to attack them, but the English seeing them in this disorder, boldly assailed and very easily defeated them." According to this writer "the English lost the duke of York and full three or four hundred others, and the French had slain in the field about four thousand knights and esquires, besides five or six hundred others." p. 430.

The account of the battle by the contemporary biographer of the comte de Richemont, afterwards duke of Brittany, who was there taken prisoner, is chiefly remarkable for the brevity with which he speaks of so important an event. It contains little of interest, besides the anecdote of the duke of Clarence, who, *Walsingham* says, had returned to England from Harfleur, and the assertion that two individuals were dressed to personate Henry. "They assembled the army in a place called Agincourt, which was too narrow for so many men to fight, and there were a great number of cavalry on our side, as well Lombards as Gascons, who ought to have attacked the English wings, but when they felt the arrows come so thick upon them, they took to flight, and broke our line in such a manner, that it was with great difficulty it could be formed again before the English were already close upon it. The moment the line was formed, the battle commenced with great vigour, even the duke of Clarence, brother of the king of England, was struck down with the blow of a hatchet, and the king his brother put his foot upon him, fearing that he might be killed, and received such a blow on his crown, that he fell on his knee. Two others who were dressed exactly like the king were slain, and the king's uncle the duke of Exeter, [York] was killed, with many others.

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preme bounty, to deliver us from this iron furnace and dire death which we had hitherto escaped. Nor did God forget the multitude of the many prayers and supplications offered up in England, through which, it is piously believed, our men quickly regaining strength, and making a brave resistance, repulsed the enemy, until they recovered the lost ground. Then the battle raged very fiercely,<sup>r</sup> and our archers pierced the flanks with their arrows and continually renewed the conflict. And when the arrows were exhausted, seizing up axes, poles, swords, and sharp spears which

Nevertheless, in a few hours, our people were defeated, slain, taken, or put to flight, who were 10,000 men at arms, and the king of England had from 10 to 12,000 fighting men. There were taken the lords of Orleans, Bourbon, and Richmond who was drawn from under the dead, and slightly wounded; he was recognised by his 'cotte d'armes,' which was all bloody, with two or three of the slain upon him. Then he was brought to the king of England, who was more cheerful than any other person.

*Memoires d'Artus III, Duc de Bretagne, pp, 239-240.*

<sup>r</sup> "The battle lasted three hours. The king exposed himself to the greatest danger, and fought like a lion, and when Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, his brother, was wounded in the hand, and thrown to the ground, he defended him with the ardour of fraternal affection, and caused him to be carried off the field."

*Titus Livius*



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were lying about, they prostrated, dispersed, and stabbed the enemy.\* For

\* *Walsingham* observes, "that the English snatched the axes out of the hands of the French, and butchered them like cattle with them."

*St. Remy's* relation, from the minuteness of his details, and especially from his having been present, is peculiarly deserving of attention. "After the deputies had returned with their people, the king of England, who had appointed a knight of an ancient name, messire Thomas Herpinghem, [Erpingham], to lead the archers, and to place them in front before the two wings, whom Sir Thomas exhorted on the part of the king to fight vigorously, and thus he marched before the battalion of archers, and after having drawn them up in order of battle, he threw a baton which he held in his hand in the air, and then dismounted and placed himself in the king's battalion, who had also dismounted near his forces, with his banner carried before him. Then the English began to march, uttering a very loud cry which much astonished the French; and when the English saw that the French did not approach, they marched slowly towards them in line order, making a great cry, when they stopped and took breath. Then the English archers, who were as I have said full ten thousand, began to shoot at random against the French, as far off as they could shoot with their utmost strength, the which archers were for the greater part without armour to their pourpoints, their hoses loosened, having hatchets and axes, or long swords, hanging from their girdles, and some with their feet naked; some wore humettes, or caps of boiled leather, or wicker work crossed over with iron. Then the French seeing the English coming towards them, placed themselves in order of battle, each under his banner, and wearing his bucinet. The constable, the marshal, and chief personages exhorted their men to fight well and boldly. The trumpets and clarions of the English in their advance, made a great noise, the French began to bend their heads, especially those who had no shelter from the arrows of the English, which they shot so fiercely that none dare approach them, nor dare the French shew themselves; and thus a slight rencontre took place



## The Battle of Azincourt. . . . ccxvii

the mighty and merciful God, who is  
always wonderful in his works, who

with them, and they made them give way a little. But before they came in contact, many of the French were wounded by the English arrows, and when they had nearly met, they were so pressed by each other that they could not lift their arms to attack their enemies, excepting some who were in the front, who thrust on them with their lances, which they had cut to render them stronger and stiffer, so that they might be able to get nearer to their enemies. The constable, the marshal, had formed a body of from 1000 to 1200 men at arms, of which half were to have gone by Azincourt, and the others by Tramecourt, with the view of breaking the wings of the English archers, but when they came near them, they did not find there more than eight score men at arms, among them was messire Clignet de Brabant, who had the especial direction of this attempt; and messire Guillaume de Sausse a very valiant knight, who advanced before the others, and was near to Azincourt with full 300 lances, who threw themselves on the English archers, who had their sharp stakes fixed before them, but the ground was so soft that the said stakes fell, and they all returned, excepting three men at arms, of whom messire Guillaume was one, to whom it unluckily happened, that by their horses falling on the stakes they were thrown to the ground among the archers, and were immediately killed, the others, or the greater part of them, with all their horses, from the fear of the arrows, returned among the French advanced guard, in which they caused great confusion, breaking and exposing it in many places, and made them retire to new sown ground, for their horses were so wounded by arrows that they were unmanageable. And thus the advance guard being thrown into disorder, the men at arms fell without number, and their horses took to flight behind their enemies; following which example, numerous parties of the French fled. Soon afterwards, the English archers perceiving this disorder of the advanced guard, quitted their stakes, threw their bows and arrows on the ground, and seizing their swords, axes, and other weapons, sallied out upon them, and hastening to the place where the fugitives came from,

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would shew his mercy to us, and who was pleased that the crown of England

killed and disabled the French, so that they at last even reached the advanced guard, and met with little or no resistance, and the English cutting right and left, made their way to the second line, which was in the rear of the advanced guard, and then pushed within it, with the king of England in person, and his followers. Then the duke Anthony of Brabant arrived, who had been hastily sent on the side of the king of France, though with few followers, for his people could not keep up with him, in consequence of his great eagerness to be present. He took one of the banners from his trumpeters, and cutting a hole in the middle, made a 'cotte d'armes' of it, but he had no sooner arrived than he was immediately put to death by the English. Then the battle began, and an immense number of the French were killed, who but slightly defended themselves, for in consequence of the horsemen, the French line was broken. Then the English charged the French with greater force, overthrowing the two first lines, and in many places cruelly destroying and slaying without mercy. Among so many some were saved by the valets who led the horses off the lines, for the English were occupied in fighting, slaying, and making prisoners, and consequently they did not pursue any. And then all the rear guard, being still mounted, seeing the fate of the two first lines took to flight, excepting some of the commanders and leaders. During the battle the English, who had the advantage, took many prisoners, and then news came to the king of England, that the French attacked them in the rear, and that they had already taken his prisoners and baggage, which was true, for one named Robinet de Bournouville, Ruffart de Plamasse, Ysembart de Azincourt, and other men at arms, accompanied by about 600 peasants, went to the baggage of the king of England, and took the baggage and other things, with a great number of English horses, whilst those who were appointed to guard them were engaged in the battle, at which pillage the king of England was much annoyed. Then following up his victory, and seeing that his enemies were beaten, and that no more opposition could be offered to him, they began to make prisoners

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should, under our gracious king his soldier and that handful, continue in-

on all sides, all of whom they believed to be rich, and in truth so they were, for they were all great lords who were at that battle, and when they were taken, those who had prisoners entirely disarmed them. Then happened an important circumstance, for a great assemblage of the rear guard, in which were many French, Bretons, Gascons, Poitevins and others, which had been put to flight, and had with them plenty of banners and ensigns, evinced a disposition to come to action and to march in order of battle. When the English perceived them, it was commanded by the king that every one should kill his prisoner, but those who had captured them would not do so, because they had only taken those from whom they expected to receive a great ransom. As soon as the king was informed of this circumstance, he appointed a gentleman with two hundred archers, to kill all the prisoners, and the said esquire so executed the king's orders, that it was a most lamentable thing, for all those noblemen of France were there killed in cold blood, and cut in pieces, heads and faces, which was a fearful sight to see. When that cursed party of French, who thus caused the murder of those noble knights, saw that the English were prepared to receive and fight them, they all took to flight, and each saved himself who could; and of those who escaped, the greater part were mounted, but of those who were on foot, a great many were killed. When the king of England clearly perceived that he had gained the victory against his adversaries, he thanked our Lord with a good heart, and well had he cause, for of his people there were killed in the field not more than about sixteen hundred men of all ranks, among whom were the duke of York, his great uncle, and the earl of Oxford, [Suffolk], and truly, the day before when they were drawn up in order of battle, there were made five hundred knights or more. Afterwards the king of England finding himself victorious on the field, and, as is above said, all the French departed, excepting those who were prisoners or lying dead, he called some of his nobles to him on the ground where the battle had taken place, and when he had viewed it, he inquired the name of a castle which he saw near

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vincible as of old ; as soon as the armies were thus joined, and the battle began,

him, to which they replied that it was called 'Azincourt,' then said the king, 'as all battles ought to bear the name of the nearest fortress to where they occur, this shall now and for ever be called THE BATTLE OF AZINCOURT.' When the king and his nobles had remained there for some time, without any of the French having shewed themselves to attack him, and having been on the field full four hours, as it rained, and as evening was approaching, he retired to his quarters at Maisoncelles; and the archers did nothing after the defeat but stripping and disarming the dead, under whom they found many prisoners alive, among whom was the Duke of Orleans, with many others. These archers brought the armour of the slain to their quarters by horse loads, and there also they carried the English who were killed in the battle among whom were there brought the duke of York and the earl of Oxford, [Suffolk.] And true it is, that the English did not suffer a great loss excepting of those two. When night came on, and the king of England was informed that so much of the armour had been brought to his quarters, he caused it to be proclaimed to his host, that none should take more than he wanted for his own body, and that they were not yet beyond the reach of the king of France. They boiled [on fist bouillir] the bodies of the duke of York and the earl of Oxford, [Suffolk,] to enable them to carry their bones to England. Then the king of England commanded that all the armour, besides that which his people brought, with the bodies of such of the English as was slain in the battle, should be put in a house or barn, and there burnt, which was accordingly done. The next day, which was Saturday, the English quitted Maisoncelles very early with all their prisoners, and they went again on the field of battle, where they found some French still living, whom they either killed or made prisoners. The king of England halted on the ground to view the dead, and it was a melancholy thing to see there the nobility, who had lost their lives for their sovereign lord the king of France, already as naked as they were born."



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increased our strength, which had before been debilitated and wasted for want of victuals, took away our terrors, and gave us a fearless heart : never had our elders seen the English more daringly and intrepidly, or voluntarily charge their enemies. And the very same just judge who would smite the haughty multitude of the enemy with the bolt of vengeance, cast them away from his face, broke up their power, their bow, buckler, sword, and battle. Nor was it ever seen in former times, mentioned in chronicles or history, that so many very choice and robust soldiers, made so sluggish, so disorderly, so cowardly, or so unmanly a resistance. For they were seized with fear and panic ; there were some, even of the more noble of them, as it was reported in the army, who on that day surrendered themselves more than ten times. But no one had leisure to make prisoners of them, but all without distinction of persons, as they were cast down to the ground, were put to death without in-



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termission, either by those who threw them down, or by others that followed after, by what secret judgment of God is not known. For God had smitten them also with another irrecoverable affliction, thus, when some of them in the engagement had been killed, and fell in the front, so great was the undisciplined violence and pressure of the multitude behind, that the living fell over the dead, and others also falling on the living, were slain; so that in three places, where the force and host of our standards were, so great grew the heap of the slain, and of those who were overthrown among them, that our people ascended the very heaps, which had increased higher than a man, and butchered the adversaries below with swords, axes, and other weapons. And when at length, in two or three hours, that front battle was perforated and broken up, and the rest were driven to flight; our men began to pull down the heaps, and to separate the living from the dead,

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proposing to keep the living as slaves, to be ransomed. But behold, immediately (in what wrath of God is not known,) there arose a clamour, that the hinder battle of the enemies' cavalry, in incomparable and fresh numbers, was repairing its ranks and array, to come upon us who were so few in numbers, and so wearied.<sup>t</sup> And immediately the captives,

<sup>t</sup> *Laboureur* says, "that the night before the battle was passed by the French in a most uncomfortable manner, having their feet up to their ankles in mud, and that when the day dawned for them to continue their march, and to seek the enemy, they had more need of rest, that they had to engage in a plain lately ploughed, which the rain had almost rendered a marsh. and that they could scarcely at the moment find four thousand good archers to place at the head, as is the practice, and it is said," he observes, "that many of them were rejected as useless, and were not fit for any service on that occasion. About eleven o'clock in the morning, they sent monsieur Cugnet de Brehant, admiral of France, and Louis Bourreden, Sire de la Gaule, with a thousand select brave men at arms, well mounted, to skirmish with the archers whom the English had placed in the advanced guard, and to break through them, but their arrows threw them into disorder; they became disheartened, and were so disgracefully rash as to abandon their leader with a few of their companions. They fled with such precipitation, as if pursued by a tempest, that they carried terror and fear to the main body, and in the mean time the English having enveloped the remainder of this forlorn hope in a cloud of arrows and quarrels, and dangerously wounded them, they entertained the strongest hopes, and far from losing courage at the sight of ours, as our young men had foolishly fancied, they advanced with great courage against

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without regard to persons, excepting the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, and cer-

them to begin the battle, with a unanimous intention of fighting until they died, at the same time the French dukes and counts ordered prayers, made the sign of the cross, and having said adieu to each other with many embraces, they began to march, and were followed by their people with boldness and intrepidity, all cheerfully shouting, 'Montjoye,'—'Montjoye.' I have been positively told, that this battle was began with extraordinary ardour, which lasted about half an hour, and that the engagement was very obstinate on both sides, but that our advanced guard which consisted of nearly five thousand men at arms, found themselves so crowded, that they had great difficulty in using their swords, and this taught them, that though a great number is sometimes of much service, there are occasions when they do injury. The infantry was fatigued with over marching, and sunk beneath the weight of their armour, and our army had the sorrow to see two of its principal commanders, the conte of Vendosme, cousin to the king, and grand master of his house, and monsieur Guichard Dauphin, two of the bravest and most experienced of the whole army, and of the most faithful of the king's servants, who led the two wings repulsed without much loss. At length the English gained the victory, through those by whom in our opinion, they ought to have lost it, that is, by their archers and by that terrible flight of arrows, to which the French being too crowded, and otherwise lightly armed, were exposed, a great number were also wounded by the said archers afterwards using a new sort of weapon unknown to us, which were, leaden mallets, by which they were beaten down."—"The necessity of conquering or dying, inspired the English with as much fury as courage, and they pierced our line in so many places, that they broke it. Then the French nobility found themselves in the utmost danger, without the power of resistance; they were all together like parties of slaves, and what cannot be told without fresh grief, those who had not the means of promising a high ransom, were obliged to yield themselves to the low soldiery." *Mons. Labourneur* then exclaims with much more fervour than jus-

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tain other illustrious individuals who were in the king's retinue, and a very few others, either of his own prisoners, or of others who were following him, fell by the sword, lest they should be ruin to us in the coming battle. But after a little while the adversaries' ranks, by the will of God, having felt the sharpness of the arrows, as our king was approaching towards them, left us a field of blood, with waggons and many other carriages filled with victuals, arrows,

tice, "Oh! eternal reproof! Oh! ever deplorable disaster, it is usual to console oneself under similar losses when one is conquered by equal forces, nor is it an extreme misfortune to acknowledge valiant warriors or gentlemen victorious, but it is a two fold disgrace, and that which overpowers a generous spirit, to see oneself beaten by bad troops, to yield in valour to people collected from all parts, and to acknowledge armed valets for conquerors, and masters of one's life and liberty. The check of the advanced guard frightened the two lines which remained, and as they had no chief or lord of consequence to conduct them, they thought more of cowardly flying, than of aiding and assisting their companions. It then unfortunately happened that a body of armed men of the routed advanced guard took to flight, to avoid the fury of the conquerors, and the king of England believing that they intended to join the rest of the army, and to return to the charge, commanded that they should kill all the prisoners. this carnage lasted until he perceived that they had merely quitted their ranks to run away, when he desired that it should cease, and explained that he had ordered it from a doubt of the intention of the fugitives " p 1010



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spears, and bows. And when, it being so ordered by God, their forces had been routed, and the severity of war was at an end, we returned victorious through the heaps and piles of slain: nor could many refrain from grief and tears, that so many soldiers of such distinction and power, should in such a manner on our account, entirely against our will, have sought their own deaths, destroying and spoiling the glory and honor of their own population to no purpose. And if that sight caused compunction and compassion in us who were strangers passing through the country, how much more did it excite mourning and distress in the native inhabitants, as they waited and saw the soldiery of the country consumed and disarmed in such a manner. And firmly I believe there is not a heart of flesh nor of stone, if it had seen and contemplated the dreadful destruction and bitter wounds of so many christians, but would have dissolved and melted into tears from grief. Not even had the



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illustrious or distinguished on our return, any covering whatever, save only in the secret parts of nature, beyond what they had received at their very birth.

Oh! that the French nation would come to peace and unity with the English, and turn back from their iniquities and their wicked ways, in which they are led on, having been seduced and bewildered, lest that saying of the prophet should hasten upon them: "God is a just judge, strong and forbearing. Is he angry every day? unless ye be converted he will brandish his sword; he hath bent his bow and made it ready, and in it he hath prepared vessels of death. And unless they quickly repent, let them feel that which follows: behold he bringeth forth unrighteousness, he hath conceived grief, and hath produced iniquity: he hath opened a pool and dug it, and hath fallen into the pit which he hath made. Let his grief be turned upon his head, and let his iniquity descend upon his own head: for God is a merciful and

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long-suffering judge; but when he hath exhausted the remedies and mercy of long suffering, he is a severe avenger, and he oftentimes takes away the powers of strong men, who are not righteous." This is manifest from the multitude of our enemies, all of whom, without distinction he hath given over to flight, captivity, or the sword, by means of us who struggled for justice in such few numbers.<sup>v</sup> For they had, according to

<sup>v</sup> To the narratives of the French writers, and of *Titus Livius* and *Eliaham*, the account in the three inedited English chronicles, which have been so frequently cited, together with that by *Hardyng*, of what occurred to Henry's army from the time it left Harfleur, is a desirable addition. "And when the kyng sawe that this towne [Harfleur] was well staffed bothe of w<sup>o</sup>yle and of men, this worthy prynce toke his leve and went to Calies ward by lande, and the fresshmen hard of his comyng they thought to stoppe hym of his way that he shuld nott passe that wey, and in all the hast that they myght, breken all the briggges where any passage was for horse and man, in so moche that there myght no man passe over the ryvers nother on hors ne on fote but yf he shuld be drowned. And therfor our kyng with all his peple went and fought his way furre up to Pares warde, and there was all the ryall power of Fraunce assembled, and redy to gete hym batayle and for to destroe all his peple. But almyghty God was his guyde and sayd hym and all his meyne and defended hym of his enemyes power and purpose thankyd he God that saved so oare knyght and kyng in his ryghtfall titell. And than owre kyng beholdyng and seying the mult tude and noubre of his enemies to withstond his wey and yeve hym ba-

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their own reckoning, more than lx.

taile, than the kyng with a meke hert and a good spirit lyste up his handis to almyghty God and besought hym of his helpe and socour and that day to save his trew servautes; and than our kyng gadred all his lordis and other peple aboute and bad hem all be of good chere for they shuld have a fuyre day and a gracions victorie and the better of all hir enemies, and prayd hem all to make hem redy unto the batsille for he wold rather be ded that day in the felde than to be take of his enemies, for he wold never put the reame of England to ransome for his persone. And the duke of Yorke felle on knees and besought the kyng of a houe that he wold graunte hym that day the avaunteward in his batayle. And the kyng graunted hym his askyng; and sayd graunte mercy eosen of Yorke, and prayd hym to make hym redy. And than he bad every man to ordeyne a stake of tre and sharpe both endes that the stake myght be pyght in the yerth a slope that his enemies shuld not over come hem on horsbak, for that were his fals purpose and made hem all there for over ryde our weyne sodenly at the fyrst comyng on of hem at the fyrst browt, and al nyght before the batayle ye frenshmen made many grete fiers and moche revell w<sup>t</sup> howtyng and showtyng and plaid our kyng and his lordis at the dise, and an archer alway for a blanke of his money, for the wenden all had bene heres. The morne arose the day gan spryng, and the kyng by good advise let arise his batayle and his wenges, and charged every man to kepe hem hole tgedre and praid hem all to be of good chere. And whan they were redy, he asked what tyme of the day it was, and they said prime; than said our kyng now is good tyme, for all England prayth for us, and therefore be of good chere and let us goe to our iorney. And than he said, w<sup>e</sup> an high vo<sup>s</sup> in the name of almyghty God and seynt George avunt Bauc and seynt George this day be thyne helpe. And than these frensshmen com<sup>e</sup> priking doune as they wolde have over-riden all our weyne. But God and our archers made hem sone to stamble for our archers shett never arow amys but y<sup>t</sup> persshed and brought to grounde man and hors for they y<sup>t</sup> day shoten for a wager. And our stakes mad hem stoppe

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thousand that drew the sword, when our

over turned eche on oother that they lay on hepes two apere length of heyght. And oure kyng wt his meyne, and wt his men of armes and archiers that thakked on theym, so thykke wt arrowes and leyd on wt strokes and oure kyng with his owne handes fought manly. And thus almyghty God and seynt George brought oure enymies to grounde and gaf us that day ye victorie; and there were slayne frenshmen that day in the felde of Agincourte mo thanne a xj. M. with prisoners that were taken, and there were nombred that day of frenslunen in the felde mo than six score thousand, and of Englishemen nat vij. M., but God that day faught for us. And after cam thier tydynges to oure kyng that there was a newe batayle of frenshmen ordeyned redy to stele on hym and comen towards hym, anone our kyng let crie that every man shuld slee his prisoners that he had take and anon araid his bataille ayenne to fight wt the frenslimen. And whanne they sawe that our men kyllled doune her prisoners thanne they wldrowe hem and brake hir bataille and all hir array. And this oure kyng as a worthy conquerour had that day the victorie in the felde of Agencourte in Picardie. And than oure kyng returned ayene thier that the bataille was to se what peple was ded of Englyshmen and any were hurte that myght be holpe, and there were ded in the felde the denke of Barre, the duke of Alanusome, the duke of Braban, the erle of Navere, the chief Conestable of Fraunce, and vij. other erles and the archebischoppe of Saunce and of goode barons an hondred and mo, and of worthy knyghtis of grete ahaunce of cote armours a thousand and fyve hondred. And of Englishemen was ded that day the good duke of Yorke and the erle of Southfolke, and of all other of Englishmen there were not ded passyng xxvj. bodies thanked be god. And this bataille was on a Fryday which was Crispyne Crispyunes day in the moneth of October and anone the kyng commanded to bery hem, and the duke of Yorke to be caryd forth wyth hym and the erle of Southfolke. And there were prisoners the duke of Orlaundre, the duke of Burbone, the erle of Vendome, the erle of Ew, the erle of Richemounde, and sir Bursgunt Marshall of Fraunce,



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### fighting men did not exceed six thou-

and many worthy lordes were there taken in the bataille of Agencourte and were brought unto the toune off Caley and so over the see with the kyng into England, and landed at Dover in Kente wt all his prisoners in sauftee, thanked be god almighty. And so come to Caunterbury, and offred at seint Thomas shryne. And soo fourth he rode thurgh Kent the nexist way to Eltham and there he rested tyl that he wolde come to London. And thanne the Maire of london, and the Aldermen, Shreves and all the worthy commoners and craftys men come to Blaketh well and worthely arraide to welcome oure kyng wt dyvers melodies, and thanked Almighty God of his gracious victorie that he had shewed for hym. And so the kyng and his prisoners passed forth by hem tyl he came to Seynt Thomas Wateryng, and there mett wyth hym all religious wt procession and welcomed hym, and so the kyng come rydyng wt his prisoners throught the cite of London, where yt there was shewed many a fayre syght at all the conduytes and at crosse in the chepe as in heavenly array of nungels, archangels, patriarches, prophites, and virgines, wt dyvers melodies sensyng and syngyng to welcome oure kyng, and all the conduytes rennyng wt wyne. And the kyng passed forth unto seint poules, and ther met wyth hym xiiij byshoppis, revesed and mitred, wt aenscers to welcome the kyng; and songon for his gracious victory *Ta deum laudamus*. And there the kyng offeryd, and toke and rode to Westmynster, and than the maire toke his leve of the kyng and rode home ayene." *Cotton. MSS. Claudius, A. viii*

"And the Tuesday the firste day of Octobre the kyng toke his weye fro Harfieu toward his town of Caley, with the nombre of viij fetyng men: and the Frenschmen of Fraunce broken there brigges and pyled the forthes of the water of Some and othere diverser wateres, that the kyng myghte nought passe but with moche disese til he com to the water of Swerdes, and there the kyng and his oost passyd over. And on the xxv day of Octobre was Fryday, and seynt Crispyn and Crispian day the lordes and the chyvetaynes of Fraunce lay with a gret oost embatailed to the nombre of vi<sup>xx</sup> m<sup>i</sup>, and wolde a stopped the



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sand; and out of their numbers fell,

kynges weye that he schulde nought a passed to his town of Caléys. And the kyng with his oost batailed hym ayens the Frensshmen, and manfully he fought ayens them in a feld that is called Agincourt, and selowe and toke of them of dukes, erles, barons, knyghtes, and cheyveteyns to the noumbre of xij m, and of the comoun peple mo thanne the noumbre of ij m. That is for to weten, the duke of Orlyons and the duke of Burbon, the erle of Vendom, the erle of Ewe and the erle of Richemond, with S<sup>r</sup> Bursegaunt; and there selayn the duke of Launson, the duke of Braban and the duke of Bare, and the erle of Navers, the ford de la Brytte constable of Fraunce, and the seneschall of Henaude, with manye othere lordes, knyghtes, and squvers, and worthy men v m and mo, and on oure syde were selayn the duke of York, the erle of Suffolk, and S<sup>r</sup> Richard of Kyghle, and David Gamme squyer, with a fewe mo othere persones to the noumbre of xvij." *Hart MSS.* 565. Another copy of this Chronicle, *Cotton: MSS.* Julius B. i presents the following account of the battle, great part of which is very similar to the narrative cited *infra* from the *Cotton. MS.* Cleopatra, C. iv. "And the Friday, that is to sey, the day of the Holy Seints, Crispin and Crispinian, alle the roiall power of Fraunce, excepte the Frenssh kyng, the dolphyn, the duke of Bourgoyne, and the duke of Barre, were before the kyng in his heigh weye, as he schulde passe to Calers, faire enhatailed in ij hatteles to the noumbre of lx m men of armes, and the fairist armed men that eny man saugh ever in any place; and the kyng seyng welc that thei woide not suffre hym to passe with outen bataille seid to his little mayny, 'Sires and felowes, the yonder men lette us of oure wey and if thei wol com to us let every man prove hymself a good man this day, and avaunt hynere in the best tyme of the yere,' and he rode furth with his basnet upon his hedde, and all other men of armes went upon there fete a fast paas in halle arrae an Engleshe myle er thei assembled, and through the grace of God the kyng made his heigh wey through the thikkeste prees of all the batayle. And there was slayne, the duke of Launson, the duke of Braban, the duke of Bare, vj erles, the constable of Fraunce, the seues

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### the dukes of Brabant, Barre, and

chal of Henaude, the maister arblaster, and of other lordes grete plente; and there was take the duke of ordinance, the duke of Burbon, the counte of Richmond, the counte Ewe, the marschal Sir Bursequant, and many other lordes and knyghts, and these were slayne of Frensshemen viii and of al esntis of thengliske the duke of Yorke, therle of Suffolke, ij knyghts, and Davy Gawe, and of gentlemen no moo. And the xxiiij day of Novembre the kyng with al his prisoners came to London in good prosperite."

"Howe the kyng came homewarde through Normandy and Picardie, and smote the battaill of Agyncourt, where I was with my maister.

"An hundred mile to Calais had he then  
At Agyncourt, so homeward in his waye  
The nobles there of Fraunce afore him were  
Proudly battailed w<sup>th</sup> an hundred thousand in arais  
He saw he must nedes with them make affraye  
He sette on them, and with them fought full sore  
With nyne thousand, no more with him thore,

¶ The feld he had and held it all that night  
But then came woord of host and enemies  
For which they sowe all prisoners coune right  
Sauf dukes and erles in fel and cruell wise  
And then the prees of enmure did supprise  
Their owne people, y<sup>t</sup> mo were dede through preas  
Then our men might have slain y<sup>t</sup> tyme no lessee.

¶ On our side was the duke of Yorke ther slau  
Therle also of Suffolke worshipfully  
And knyghtes twon with other then sooth to sain  
And at the siege therle of Suffolke sothey  
The fat er dyed of the flixe contynually,  
But makell folke at that siege yet dyed  
Of frute and flixe and cold were mortified.

¶ On y<sup>e</sup> French partie y<sup>e</sup> dukes of Barre and Lorein  
And of Alaunson in battaill ther were dedde  
And take were of Christeans in certain  
The duke Lewes of Orlaunce ther hedde  
The duke of Burbone in that stede  
Therle of Vendom, and Arthure also of Brytain  
And sir Bursigalde Marshall of Fraunce certain.

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Alençon, five earls, upwards of ninety

¶ And therle of Ewe was taken ther also  
 Fyve baron also that were at their baner  
 And fifteen hundred knyghts squyers and mo  
 Were slain that day in full knyghtely maner  
 With woundes so as then did apere  
 As werres would upon Crispyn daye  
 And Crispynian that sanctes in blisse been aye"

*Ellis's Hardyng's Chronicle, chapter ccxliij.*

"And there [at Harfleur] lay our kynge til the fyrste day of Octobre, the which day our kynge remeyd and toke his way thorowe Normandy and thorow Pykardy toward Calys. And these be the townes that our kynge rood by thorow Fraunce: —first is *Harfleur*; the seconde is *Honnefle*; the thirde is *Barflete*; the ferthe is *Mousterrillers*; the fift is *Fescoupe*, with the Abbey; the sixt is *Arkes*, the seven the is *Depe*; the eyght is *Depe*; the ix is the cete of *Delewer*; the x is the cete of *Tewec*; the xi is cete of *Neell*; the xii is the cete of *Amyas*; the xiii is the cete of *Aras*; the xiiii the water *Same*; the xv the cete of *Pyroune*; the xvi the water of *Swerdys* and than the batel of *Tyrwyn*. And in Azyneorte felde, our kyng faught with the Frenchmen the Fryday tofore the day of Symond and Jude, and there all the ryall power of Frensshmen come azenat our kyng and his litill meyne, sate the Frenssh kyng and the Dolfyn, and the duke of Borgayn, and the Duke of Barr, elles all the lordys of Fraunce lay tofore the kynge in his hy way as he schuld passe toward Calys, embateyled in iiij batayles as the frensshmen sayde hem salfe, the nowmbre of LX M men of armes, and the were the faireste men of armys that ever any man saw in any place. And our kyng with his litill mayne sey well he must nedys fyzte or he myght not come to Calays by the hy way. And than he sayde to his lordys and to his mayne 'Syres and Felowes the zondere mayne think to lett us of our way and thes wil nat come to us lete every man prove hym selfe a good man, this day and avant banneres in the best tyme of the yere, for as I am trew kyng and knyght for me this day schall never Ingland rawn. some pay erste many a wyght man schall leve is wedde, for

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### barons and standard bearers, whose

here crste to deth I will be dyght, and preför lordynges for the love of swete Jhu helpe mayntene Inglonde ryght this day; also Archers to yow I praye no fote that ze fle away crste he we all beten in this feld, and thenke he englyshmen that none wold fle at no batellie for azenste one of us thowthe there be tear, thenke Criste will help us in ovr ryght, bot I wold no blode wer spilt Cryste helpe me so now in this case. Bot they that been canse of this trespase when thou sittest in jugment there holde me excused to fore thi face as thou art God omnipotent but passe we all now in fere, Duke, Erle, and Bachelere, of all ovr synnys he make us seker jentil Jhu, borne of Marye, and as for us thi deydyst on good fryday as thi will was so brynge us to thi blisse an hy and graunte us there to have a place, do and bete on faste ovr kyng the bad wythe full glad chere, and so thei dyde at that word lord knyght and orcher there men myghte see a semble sude that turayd many on to tene and twenty for many a lorde there ryght low lay that comen was of blod full gent, by evensong tym, sothely to say, then halpe us god omnipotent.

Stedes there stomelyd in that stownde  
That stod sterc stuffed under stele  
With granynges grete thei selle to grownde  
Here sydes fede ed wi an thei gone fele;  
Ovr lord the kyng he focht ryght wele  
Scharpliche on hem his spere he spent  
Many on a ke he made that sele  
Thorow myght of God omnipotent

The duke of Gloucestre also that tyde  
Manfully with his mayne  
Winners he wrought there wonder wyde  
The duke of Yorke also parde  
Pro his kyng no fote wolde he fleo  
Thi his basoret to his brayn was bente  
Now on his sowe he have pete  
Mersifull God omnipotent

Hontyngdon and Oxforde bothe  
Were wonder fers all in that fyght  
That erste was glade thei made ful wrothe  
Thorow hem many on to deth were dyght

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names are written in the book of Re-

The erles foughten with may and myzt  
Rich havvorke thei rose and rente  
Owr kyng to helpe thei wer full lyght  
Now blesse hem God omnipotent

The erle of Butthfolk gave hem assayle  
And sir Richard Kyghle in that stede  
Here lyves thei losten in that bataile  
With dynres sore there were thei dede  
Hif eny man hyde eny good hede  
Unto God with good entent  
To the two sowles it mote be mede  
Gracious God omnipotent

Sir Willm Bowser as soule in fright  
Preste he there was upon his pray  
Epyngham he come byn with  
Her manhode help us we l that day  
Of Frenssh folk in that asray  
Thre dukes were dede with doleful dent  
And fyve erles this is no nay  
Ther holpe us God omnipotent

Lordes of name an hunderde and mo  
Bitterly that bargayn bowght  
Two thousand Cot Armes also  
After her sorow theder thei sowght  
Ten thousand Frensshmen to deth wer browght  
Of whom never none away went  
All her names sothly know I sowght  
Have mercy on hem Cryst omnipotent

Two dukes were take in that stour  
He of Orlawnce and of Borbon  
The cwe and Arthowre  
The earl of Vendon and many one  
The archebisshop of Sens come with our foun<sup>d</sup>  
Hym failed the wynnynge of his schon  
Thorow myght of God omnipotent

The fals Flemyngys God zef hem ear  
Thei loved us never zyt by the roode  
For all her fals flatteryng fare  
Azenet owr kyng that day thei stode  
Bot many of hem her hert blode  
Unblythly bledde upon that bent  
Zit schal. than never wayt Ingland good  
I sweer by God omnipotent.

Cotton. MSS. Cleopatra, C iv.



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cotls;” and more than one thousand five

The following extract from the Corporation records of the City of Salisbury, which occurs in the *Lansdowne MS.* 1054, f. 55, is entitled to a place in this work, because it is contemporary with the circumstances which it relates, and it is not a little curious from being a contemporary notice of the Battle of Agincourt, by a provincial corporation.

“In Convocation held the 9th day of October, in the ——— year of king Henry the fifth. Letters patent under the great seal of our lord the king, were directed to John Lewisham, mayor of the city, Walter Shurle, William Waryn, and William Tayle, to array the hoblars, archers, and others within the city. And also there was a close letter from the chancellor of England, containing instructions to the mayor and citizens for fortifying the same city, with ‘barreris,’ and other muniments, and for preserving the peace within it. In consequence of which patent, a proclamation was made in the city of all the articles contained in the same. And be it known that our lord the king of England, Henry the fifth, crossed the sea with his great army towards Harflet, on the vigil of the assumption of the blessed Mary. He arrived at the said port in the third year of his reign, and besieged that town, with the duke of York, the duke of Clarence, the duke of Gloucester, and several others, the earl Warren, and other lords. Afterwards, on the twenty-second day of September, viz: on Sunday, the morrow of Saint Matthew, apostle and evangelist, in the aforesaid year, the town surrendered to the said lord the king, and the king himself bravely acquired it. After which acquisition, having made an ordinance for preserving the same town, and constituted the earl of Dorset captain thereof, our lord the king with his said army returned from the aforesaid siege towards Calais (by reason of a very great pestilence prevailing at Harflet :) and the king thus proceeding, the great army of France, in number about a hundred thousand, was appointed to oppose the king, who had not with him above the number of ten thousand. Which armies fought stoutly; and in the battle there were

\* *Titus Livius* enumerates among the slain on the part of the French, the princes and dukes before mentioned, the lord of Hely,

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**hundred knights, according to their own**

slain of the French in the plain of Argenton on Friday, the festival of Saints Crispin and Crispinian, namely on the twenty-fifth day of October, in the year of our lord one thousand four hundred and fifteen, and in the aforesaid third year of the reign of the said Henry the fifth, the lord de Brui, constable of France, the duke de Launson," &c. [here follow the names of the principal French noblemen,] "and four thousand brave knights and esquires, besides the common men. And likewise there were taken and made prisoners of our lord the king, the duke d'Orleans, the duke of Bourbon, the marshal of France called Burségami, the count of Richemonde, the count of Perdon, the count d'Ewe, and the brother of the duke de Launson, 'et area sua.' And on the part of the lord our king were slain, the duke of York, the young earl of Suffolk, and no more of the lords, and about fifteen of other persons who were valets. And so our lord the king overcame on that day all his enemies, giving thanks to the most high God, to the mother and perpetual Virgin, Mary, and to Saint George, and all the saints of God. He departed with this army towards Calais, resting there and refreshing himself, and sending whom he pleased out of the said army into England. after which, the lord the king, from regard to the affairs of his realm, returned into England, arriving at Dover on Saturday, the festival of Saint Clement, pope, namely, on the twenty-third day of December, [November] in the aforesaid third year, bringing with him the said French lords, his prisoners and captives, who coming towards London, a very great multitude of the people of that city met him in red vestments and white hoods. Entering that city on the following Saturday, namely, on the last day of the same month, the festival of Saint Andrew, so great a multitude of men and women stood in the streets from the corner of Saint George in Southray, as far as Westminster, that the king himself with the aforesaid lords his captives, could scarcely arrive at Westminster from the tenth hour until the third of the afternoon. The cause also of this

who came to Henry before the battle, and others to the number of ten thousand; and of the English the duke of York, the earl of

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computation, and between four and five thousand other nobles, being nearly all

hindrance was the different arrangements and pageants displayed to him by that city. For whose arrival and glorious victory he glory to God in the highest."

Suffolk, and others to the number of one hundred of the advanced guard. At his supper, after the battle, he says, the king was attended by the French lords who were there captured.

The following is *Monstrelet's* list of the persons of distinction of the French army, who were slain or taken at Agincourt:—

"The lord Charles d'Albreth, constable of France, the marshal Boucicault, carried a prisoner to England, where he died, sir James de Chastillon lord de Dampierre, admiral of France, the lord de Rambures master of the cross-bows, sir Guichard Dauphin master of the king's household. Of the princes were, duke Anthony of Brabant, brother to the duke of Burgundy, Edward duke of Bar, the duke d'Alençon, the count de Nevers, brother to the duke of Burgundy, sir Robert de Bar, count de Marle, the count de Vandemont, John brother to the duke of Bar, the count de Blamont, the count de Grand-pré, the count de Roussay, the count de Fauquenbergh, sir Louis de Bourbon, son to the lord de Préaux. The names of other great lords as well from Picardy as elsewhere: the vidame of Amiens, the lord de Croy, and his son sir John de Croy, the lords de Helly, d'Auxi, de Brimeu, de Poix, l'Estendart lord de Crequi, the lord de Lauvroy, sir Vitart de Bours, sir Philippe d'Auxi lord de Dampierre bailiff of Amiens, his son the lord de Raineval, his brother sir Allain, the lord de Mailly and his eldest son the lord d'Inchy, sir William de Saveuses, the lord de Neufville and his son the castellan of Lens, sir John de Moreul, sir Rogue de Poix, sir John de Bethune lord of Moreul in Brie, sir Symon de Craon lord de Clarsy, the lord de Rocheguyon, and his brother the vidame de Lannois, the lord de Galigny, the lord d'Ahegre in Auvergne, the lord de Bussremont in Champagne, sir James de Heu, the lord de Saint Bris, Philippe de Fosseux, sir Regnault de Crequy, lord de Comptes, and his son sir Philippe, the lord de Mannes and his brother Lancelot, Mahieu and John de Humleres,

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the nobility of the French knighthood.  
And there were taken of the remaining

brothers, sir Louis de Beausault, the lord de Ront, sir Raoul de Manne, sir Oudart de Renty, and two of his brothers, the lord de d'Applin-court and his son sir James, sir Louis de Gnielle, the lord de Vaurin and his son the lord de Lidequerke, sir James de Lesouelle, the lord de Hamea, the lord de Hondescote, the lord de Pulchres, sir John Baleul, sir Raoul de Flandres, sir Collart de Fosseux, the lord de Roissimbqa and his brother Louis de Boussy, the lord de Thiennes, the lord d'Azincourt and his son, sir Hustin Kieret, le bégue de Caen and his brother Payen, the lord de Varigues, the lord d'Auffemont and his son sir Raulequin, sir Raoul de Neele, the lord de St. Crépin, the viscount de Quesnes, sir Pierre de Beauvoir, bailiff of the Vermandois, sir John de Lally and his brother sir Griffon, the lord de St Symon and his brother Gallois, Collart de la Porte lord of Bellincourt, sir Yvain de Cramailles, the lord de Cerny in the Laonnais, sir Drieu d'Orgiers lord de Bethencourt, sir Gobert de la Bove, lord de Savoisy, the lord de Becqueville and his son sir John Marthel, the lord d'Utrecht, the seneschal d'Eu, the lord de la Riviere de Tybonville, the lord de Courcy, the lord de St Benve, the lord de Beau-maunil, the lord de Combouchis, the lord de la Hesse, the Lord Viesport, sir Bertrand Pamel, the lord Chambois, the lord de St Cler, the Lord de Montcheveul, the lord d'Ousreville, sir Enguerrand de Fontainen and his brother sir Charles, sir Almaury de Craon lord de Brolay, the lord de Montejan, the lord de la Haye, the lord de l' Isle Bouchart, sir John de Craon lord de Montbason, the lord de Eueuil, the lord de Laumont sur Loire, sir Anthony de Craon lord de Beau Vergier, the lord d'Asse, the lord de la Tour, the lord de l' Isle Gonnort, sir John de Dreux, sir Germain de Dreux, the viscount de Tremblay, sir Robert de Bouvay, sir Robert de Challus, sir John de Bonnebault, the lord de Mengaugier, sir John de Valcourt, the lord de Sainteron, sir Ferry de Sardonne, sir Peter d'Argie, sir Henry d'Ornay, the lord des Roches, sir John de Montessay, the lord de Bethencourt, the lord de Combourt, the viscount de la Belhere, the lord de la Tute, sir Bertrand de Montauban, Bertrand de St



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number, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon; the earls of Richemund, de Vendosme, and de Iwe; also the most mighty

Gille, seneschal of Hainault, the lord de la Hamecte, the lord de Quesnoy, the lord de Montigny, the lord de Quiervran, the lord de Jamont, the lord de Chin, sir Symon de Havreth, the lord de Pucles, sir John de Gres, sir Allemand d'Estaussines, sir Philippe de Lens and sir Henry, brothers to the bishop of Cambray, sir Michel du Chastellier and his brother Gallame de Vaudripont, Ernoul de Vaudrigien, Pierre de Molin, Jean de Esait, George de Quiervran and his brother Henry, the lord de Saures, sir Briffault his brother, le Baudrain d'Aisne knight, sir Maillart d'Azouville, Palamedes des Marquis, the lord de Bousincourt, the lord de Presencourt the lord de Vallasant, the lord de Hectrus, Guernier de Brusquent, the lord de Moy in the Beauvoisis, his son Gamot de Bournouville and his brother Bertrand, Louvlet de Massinguehen and his brother, sir Collart de Phiennes, Alain de Vendôme, Lamont de Lannoy, sir Counet de St. Pv, the lord de Bos d'Anquin, Lancelot de Fremesent, the lord d'Aumont, sir Robinet de Vaucoux, sir Raisse de Moncaurel, sir Lancelot de Clary, the lord de la Rachie, sir Guerard d'Herbaines, sir Guerard de Haucort, sir Robert de Montigny, sir Charles de Chastillon, Philippe de Poitiers, the lord de Feuldes, the lord de St. Pierre, Guillaume Fortescu, Burel de Guernames, Robert de Potiaumes, the son to the bailiff of Rouen, the provost to the marshals of France, Bertrand de Belloy Jaques de Han, the lord de Baisir and Martel du Vanhuon his brother, Jean de Maletruais, Raoul de Ferrieres, Raoul de Longuel knight, Henry de la Lande, sir Ernault de Corbie, lord d'Aniel, Jean Discouevella, sir Yvain de Beauval, sir Brunel Fretel, le Baudrain de Belloy knight, sir Regnault d'Azincourt, the governor of the county of Reibel, Ponco de Satus knight, lord of Chastel-neuf, the lord de Marqueetes, Symmonet de Morviller, Foleville, butler to the duke of Aquitaine, Gallois de Fongiers, sir Lancelot de Robempré, Lyonnet Torbas, the lord de Boissay, Anthony d'Ambrine, sir Hector de Chartres the younger and his two brothers, Tauppinet de la Nesville, Thibault



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soldier lord Buçicald, marshal of France, and but few other noblemen. And there was great joy and wonder among our army; for of our numbers, which were so few, there were found slain in the field not more than nine or ten persons, besides the illustrious and most wise prince, lord Edward duke of York, and lord Michael earl of Suffolk, a valiant youth, and two lately created knights,

de Fay, the lord de Beauvoir sur Autre, Hue des Autels, the lord de Cauteroy and his brother Eastace d'Aubrunes, Lancelot de Conchy, Jean de Launoy, sir Collart de Monbortant, sir Charles Boutry, sir Guy Gourle with John Gourle his brother, le Bon de Sains, Anthony de Broly, Guillaume de Villers, lord d'Urerdone, Floridas du Souys, the lord de Regnaudville, Langhois de la Bouvrière and his brother Gamart, le Planteur de Gerboal, Pierre Aloyer, Percival de Richsbourg, the lord de Fiesles and his son the bégue de Quenouilles, Godfrey de St. Marc, the lord de Teneques, the lord de Herlin, Simon de Monchiaux, sir Maillet de Gournay and his brother Poros, Jean de Noyelle, Pierre de Noyelle and Lancelot de Noyelle, sir Carael de Bangiers, Jean d'Authville lord de Vavrons, Regnaud de Guerherval, William lord de Rin, Pierre de Reiny, Saussat d'Essne, the lord de Haucoirt in Cambresis, sir Guichard d'Ausne, the lord de Rasse, the lord d'Espaigny, the lord de Cheppon, Jean de Chanle lord of Bretigny, Jean de Blausel, Guilbert de Gebauval, Handin de Belevai, sir Guernard de Haaressis, sir Louis de Vertain, sir Estourdy d'Ongines with his brother Bertrand, sir Henry de Boissy lord of Cautle, sir Arthur de Moy, the borge de Nouille, sir Floridas de Moreul, sir Tristrain de Moy, sir Bridoul de Puivears, the lord de Verneul, Langhois de Guerbauval, the viscount de Dommar, Ponchon de la Tour, Godfrey de Provilde.

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who fell in the battle. But our duke of Gloucester, Humphrey, the king's younger brother, a valiant prince, as he dealt out to others, so he received himself, and was grievously wounded in the king's battle; and no wonder among so many swords, spears, and axes, brandished with such violence; yet soon after his arrival at Calais he recovered,\* God be praised.

\* "After this bloody battle, the king of England, and the lords of his suite, bought of the lower soldiery all prisoners of consideration that they had taken, to put them to a heavy ransom, and to profit by their importance. They soon resolved, less from charity than interest, to increase the number of them, by raising those from among the slain who still breathed, or gave any signs of life, so that they might make money; and they employed the French in this melancholy office. This being done, the victorious king withdrew his host some paces, and there assembled his army, and after having motioned them with his hand to keep silence, he thanked them for having so generously hazarded their lives in his service, and desired them always to remember so fortunate a day as a most convincing proof of the justice of his arms, to recover in the country of his ancestors that which had been so unjustly withheld from him; he seriously warned them, nevertheless, not to pride themselves upon their success, and not to attribute to their bravery the triumph which they owed to the mere mercy of God. 'It is He only,' said he, 'who has worked the miracle in our favour, to defeat with so small a force such a formidable power, to lower and humiliate the pride of the French.' He added, that he ought to return thanks to Him that he had so few, or rather that they had not any loss of knights or important persons, but he assured them that he had been careful to have them all buried, and not to leave their bodies scattered on the field, to beasts and birds of prey. He likewise

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England has therefore cause both of joy and grief; reason to rejoice at the victory gained, and the preservation of her men; reason also to grieve from compassion at the destruction and death of Christians. And far be our nation from ascribing the triumph to her own glory or valour, but to the only God from

allowed them to perform the same offices to the French, and the bishop of Therouenne consecrated a place which served for their cemetery. This he conceded to the wishes of the princes of the blood-royal of France, whom he treated as his dearly beloved cousins, and consoled and entreated to bear this turn of fortune with patience, who had only acted in her usual manner, by changing into grief the conclusion of what had proceeded so happily at the commencement, of which nevertheless he accused the bad disposition of their troops." *Laboureur*, p. 1012.

"While for a long space of time the king had kept the field, and when the day had declined towards evening, by the counsel of his nobles and experienced men he returned to lodge with his army in the same village as on the preceding night, yet the goods the English left there, the French robbers had in the time of the battle made their booty, both horses and other things. But on that very evening, the captive princes of France were servants to the king, who in the morning reckoned to have infallibly led him captive. For thus is the changing of the right hand of the most High, to whom be honor and glory for ever."—"That night being spent, the king returning with his array and captives through the middle of the plain on which the battle had taken place, as the more direct way, and finding all the bodies of the slain, which is wonderful to be heard, naked and entirely stript, proceeded to his castle of Gynes, and thence to his city of Calais, into which he was received with all reverence, and immense joy." *Elmhurst*.

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whom is every victory; lest the Lord be angry at our ingratitude, and turn away from us his victorious hand on other occasions. And let our England study to please God without intermission, to extirpate heresies and errors, with other seditions and unrighteousnesses, in hymns, acknowledgments, and canticles, more fully and more perfectly, to confess and sing to the Lord, who hath done wonders in Israel, and hath given victory to his anointed; and let her pour out prayers, supplications, and tears, before the sight of the supreme graciousness of God, that with the shield of his omnipotence he may, during seasons of long continuance, guard, protect, visit, and defend our most victorious king, and his desire and devotion for the emolument of the church, and peace of the realms. And let us together sing that which is sung every year by the church, "Thine is the power, thine the kingdom, Oh! Lord; Thou art above all nations: Give peace, Oh Lord, in our days."

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And after the battle, our king returned where he had rested the night before, and took his march on the morrow towards Calais,<sup>y</sup> through those

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<sup>y</sup> “When the king of England had on this Saturday begun his march toward Calais, many of the French returned to the field of battle, where the bodies had been turned over more than once, some to seek for their lords, and carry them to their own countries for burial, others to pillage what the English had left. King Henry’s army had only taken gold, silver, rich dresses, helmets, and what was of value; for which reason, the greater part of the armour was untouched and on the dead bodies; but it did not long remain thus, for it was very soon stripped off, and even the shirts, and all other parts of their dress were carried away by the peasants of the adjoining villages. The bodies were left exposed as naked as when they came into the world. On the Saturday, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, the corpses of many princes were well washed and raised, namely, the dukes of Brabant, Bar, and Alençon, the counts de Nevers, de Blaumont, de Vaudemont, de Faulquemberge the lord de Dampierre, admiral, sir Charles d’Albreth, constable, and buried in the church of the Friars Minors at Hesdin. Others were carried by their servants, some to their own countries, and others to different churches. All who were recognised were taken away, and buried in the churches of their manors. When Philippe count de Charolois heard of the unfortunate and melancholy disaster of the French, he was in great grief, more especially for the death of his two uncles, the duke of Brabant and count de Nevers. Moved by compassion, he caused all that had remained exposed on the field of battle to be interred, and commissioned the abbot de Roussianville and the baillif of Aire to have it done. They measured out a square of twenty-five yards, wherein were dug three trenches twelve feet wide in which were buried, by an account kept, five thousand eight hundred men. It was not known how many had been carried away by their friends, nor what number of the wounded



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heaps of patriotism and blood where  
sunk the power of the French."

had died in hospitals, towns, villages, and the adjacent woods, but, as I have before said, it must have been very great. This square was consecrated as a burying ground by the bishop of Guines, at the command and as procurator of Louis de Luxembourg, bishop of Therouanne. It was surrounded by a strong hedge of thorns, to prevent wolves or dogs from entering it, and tearing up and devouring the bodies. In consequence of this sad event, some learned clerks of the realm made the following verses.

A chief, by dolorous mischance oppress'd,  
A prince woe rules by arbitrary will,  
A royal house by discord sore oppress'd,  
A council, prejudic'd and partial still,  
Subjects by prodigality brought low,  
Will fill the land with beggars, well we trow.

Nobles made noble in dame Nature's spite  
A tim'rous clergy fear, and truth conceal,  
While humble companions forego their right  
And the harsh yoke of proud oppression feel;  
Thus, while the people moorn, the public woe  
Will fill the land with beggars, well we trow

Ah feeble woe ' whose impotent commands  
Thy very vassals boldly dare despise  
Ah helpless monarch ' whose enervate hands  
And wavering counsels dare no high emprise;  
Thy hapless reign will cause our tears to flow,  
And fill the land with beggars, well we trow '

I shall here add the names of such principal persons as escaped death or imprisonment in consequence of this battle. First, the count de Dampmartin, lord de la Riviere, sir Clagnet de Brabant, styling himself admiral of France, sir Louis Bourdon, sir Galliot de Gaules, sir John d'Engennes." *Monstrelet*.

*Walsingham's* account of the slain and prisoners is, "that the dukes of Alanson, of Brabant, and of Baar, with five earls and the constable of France, and other lords to the number of almost

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A curious poem, attributed to Lydgate, containing an account of Henry's expedition, has been occasionally cited in several of the preceding pages; but it is here given verbatim, because it is perhaps the most curious narrative of the proceedings of the English army, which is extant. The third canto, if the expression may be allowed, will be found at the end of the description of the king's reception into London upon his return from France, in a subsequent part of the volume.

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a hundred, and of knights and esquires, four thousand and sixty nine are said to have been slain; that the number of the common soldiers was not noticed by the heralds, that there were taken at the same time, the dukes of Orleans, and Bourbon, and the earls of Ewe, and Vendone, and Arthur, brother of the duke of Brittany, who called himself the earl of Richmond: and one Burdegald, the most honourable knight of the realm of France, and others as they say to the number of seven hundred, and that on the part of the king there fell, lord Edward duke of York, and lord Michael earl of Southfolk, four knights and one esquire, called David Came, and of the common soldiers twenty eight."

*Pierre de Penne* says, "about four or five hundred only of Henry's army were slain, and that the duke of York, the king's uncle, was mortally wounded. The English were excessively annoyed at the loss of their horses, of which a great many were wounded and rendered useless, in consequence of which they had great difficulty in reaching Calais, where they were received with great delight." p. 461.

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God that all this world gan make  
And dyed for us on a tre,  
Save Ingelond for Mary sake,  
Sothfast God in Trinite;  
And kepe oure kyng that is so free,  
That is gracious and good with all,  
And graunt hym evermore the gree,  
Curteys Crist oure kynge ryall.

Oure kyng sente in'o France ful rathe  
Hys bassatours bothe faire and free,  
His owne right for to have,  
That is, Gyan and Normande;  
He bad delyvre that his schalde be  
All that oughte kyng Edward,  
Or ellys tell hym certeynle,  
He itt gette with dynt of swerd.

*Wot ye right well that thus it was,  
Gloria tibi Trinitas.*

And than answerde the dolfyn bold  
To oure bassatours sone ageyn,  
Me thinke youre kyng he is nought old,  
No werrys for to maynteyn;  
Grete well youre kyng, he seyde, so yonge  
That is bothe gen ill and small,  
A toune of tenys ballys I shall hym sende  
For to pleye hym with all.

*Wot ye right well, &c.*

A dien Sire, seide oure lordis alle,  
For there they wolde no longer leude;  
They token there leve, bothe grete and smalle,  
And hom to Ingelond they gum wende;  
And thanne they sette the tale on ende,  
All that the Dolfyn to them gou say;  
I schal hym thanke thanne, seyde our kynge,  
Be the grace of God if that y may.

*Wot ye right well, &c*

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The kyng of Fraunce that is so old,  
Onto oure kyng he sente on ly,  
And prayde trews that he wolde hold  
For the love of seynt Mary.  
Oure Cherlys of Fraunce gret well, or ye wende,  
The Dolfyn prowed withanne his wall,  
Swyche tenys bailys I schal hym sende  
As schall tere the roof all of his all.  
*Wot ye right well, &c.*

Oure kyng ordeyned with all his myght,  
For to amende that is amys,  
And that is all for Engeloud ryght,  
To geten agen that scholde ben his;  
That is, al Normandie forsothe y wys,  
Be right of critage he scholde it have,  
Therof he seith he wyll nought mys,  
Crist kepe his body sounde and save.  
*Wot ye right well, &c.*

Oure kyng at Westmenster he lay,  
And his bretheren everech on,  
And other many lordes that is no nay;  
The kyng to them seyde anon,  
To Fraunce y thenke to take the way,  
Sires, he seyde, be swete seynt John,  
Of good counsaill y will yow pray,  
Wat is youre will what y shall don?  
*Wot ye right well, &c.*

The duk of Clarence, thanne seyde he,  
My lord it is my right full will,  
And other lordys right manye,  
We hold it right reson and skylle,  
To Fraunce we wolde yow redy bryng  
With gladder wil than we kon say.  
Gramercy sires, seide our kyng,  
I schall yow qwyte if that y may.  
*Wot ye right well, &c.*

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I warne yow he seyde bothe olde and yonge,  
Make yow redy withoughte delay;  
At Southampton to mete youre kynge,  
At Lammes on seynt Petrys day,  
Be the grace of God ant swete Mary,  
Over the see y thenke to passe;  
The kyng let ordeyn sone in hy,  
What y mene ye knowe the cause.  
*Wot ye right well, &c.*

After anon, with right good chere,  
Hyse gret gonnyes and engynes stronge,  
At London he schipped them alle in fere,  
And sone fro Westmenster then spronge,  
With alle hyse lordys, sothe to saye,  
The mair was redy and mette hym there,  
With all the craftes in good arave,  
It is ful soth what nede to swere.  
*Wot ye right well, &c.*

Heyl, comely kyng, the mair gan say,  
The grace of God now be with the,  
And speed the well in thy jorney,  
Almyghti God in Trinite,  
And graunt the evermore the degre,  
To felle thin enemys bothe nyght and day:  
Amen, seyde alle the comunalte,  
Graunt mercy sirs ours kyng gan say.  
*Wot ye right well, &c.*

To seynt Poulys he held the way,  
He offred there full worthyly;  
Fro thens to the quen that same day,  
And tok his leve ful hendely;  
And thorough out London thanne gan he ryde,  
To seynt George he com in hye,  
And there he offred that iche tyde,  
And other lordys that weren hym bye.  
*Wot ye right well, &c.*



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And fro thens to Suhthampton, unto that strond,  
For sothe he wold no longer there dwell;  
XV hundryd shippys redy there he fond,  
With riche sayles and heye topcastell.  
Lordys of this lond, oure kyng gan there sell,  
For a milion of gold as y herd say,  
Therefore there truayle was quyte them fall well,  
For they wolde a mad a queynte aray.  
*Wot ye right well, &c.*

Therefore song it was wailaway,  
There lyvys they lost anon right in hast,  
And oure kyng with riall aray  
To the se he past.  
And landyd in Normandye, at the water of Sayn,  
At the pyle of Ketecaus. the sothe y vrow say, {rayn,  
On oure lady even, the assumpcion, the thirldre yer of hys  
And boldely hys baner there he gan display.  
*Wot ye right well, &c.*

And to the town of Harflew there he tok the way,  
And mustred his meyne faire before the town,  
And many other lordys I dar well say,  
With baners brighte and many penoun;  
And there they pyght there tentys a down,  
That were embroudyd with armys gay;  
First, the kynges tente with the crown,  
And all othere lordes in good aray.  
*Wot ye right well, &c.*

My brother Clarence, oure kyng gan say,  
The tother syde shall ye kepe,  
With my doughter and hire maydyns gay,  
To wake the Frensshmen of there slepe.  
London he seyde shall with here mete,  
My gonnyys shall lyn upon this grene,  
For they shall play with Harflete  
A game at tynes as y wene.  
*Wot ye right well, &c.*

## The Battle of Agincourt. . . . ccliii

Mine engynes that bethe so kene,  
They shall be sett be syde this hill,  
Over all Harflewe that they may sene,  
For to loke if they play well.

Go we to game be Godys grace,  
Myne children ben redy everych on,  
Every greet gonne that there was,  
In his mouth he hadde a ston.

*Wot ye right well, &c.*

The Capteyn of Harflewe sone anon  
To oure kyng he sente on hy,  
To wyte what was his wille to don  
That he was come with his navy;  
Delivere me this toun, oure kyng gan say,  
Nay sire, he seyde, be seynt Denys:  
Thanne shall y it gete, if y may,  
Be the grace of God and myn devys.

*Wot ye right well, &c.*

Myne pleyers that y have hedyr brought,  
Ther ballys beth of stonys round,  
Be the helpe of hym that me dere bought,  
They shall youre wall have to ground.  
The Frensshmen cried 'Amound' 'Amound,'  
This toun, they seyde, us moste kepe;  
The kyng, seith he, will nought fro this ground  
Or he have yolde this toun Harflete.

*Wot ye right well, &c.*

Tenys seyde the grete gonne,  
How felawes go we to game,  
Among the houses of Harflewe rounne,  
It dide the Frensshmen right gret game;  
Fyftene before, seyde London, tho  
His ball wol faire he gan it throwe,  
That the stepyll of Harflete and bellys also,  
With his breth he dide down blowe.

*Wot ye right well, &c.*

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XXX<sup>th</sup> is myn, seyde Messagere,  
And smartly went his way;  
Ther wallys that were mad right sure,  
He brast them down the sothe to say.  
The kynges doughter, seyde here, how thei play,  
Herkenyth myne maydenys in this tyde,  
Fyve and forty that is no nay,  
The wallys wente down on every ayde.  
*Wot ye right well, &c.*

The engynes seide, to longe we abyde,  
Let us gon to ben on assent;  
Wherever that the ball gan glyde,  
The houses of Harflew they all to rent.  
An Englyssh man the bulwerk brent,  
Women cryed alas! that they were bore,  
The Frensshmen seide now he we shent,  
From us this toun now it is lore.  
*Wot ye right well, &c.*

It is best now that we therfore,  
That we besече the kyng of grace,  
That he asayle us now no more,  
For to dystroye us in this place;  
For but the Dolfyn us reakewe,  
This toun to delivere wyl we sikerly,  
Messagers thei let make newe,  
And to the kyng they come in hy.  
*Wot ye right well, &c.*

The lord Gaucourt eerteynly,  
For he was capteyn in that place,  
And Gilliam Bocher com hym hy,  
And othere also bothe more and lasse;  
To fore the kyng whan they com was,  
I wot they sette them on there kne,  
Heil comely kyng, thei seyde, in this plas,  
The grace of God now is with the.  
*Wot ye right well, &c.*

## The Battle of Agincourt.....cclv

Of trews we wolde beseeche the  
Unto it be Sounday attēhon,  
And but it thanne reskewyd be  
We shall to yow delyvere this toun;  
The kyng thanne seyde to then ful son  
I graunte you grace al this tyde,  
Somme of yow go forth anon,  
The remenaunt with me shall abyde.  
*Wot ye right well, &c.*

The capteyn hied hym with' al his myght,  
Unto Roon for to ryde,  
He wende the Dolfyn have founde there right;  
But he was goon, durst he nought abytle,  
Of helpe the capteyn besowte that tyde,  
Harflew from us is lost for ay,  
The wallys ben down on every syde,  
We may no longere it kepe, be God verray.  
*Wot ye right well, &c.*

Of good counsaill I wolde yow pray,  
What is youre will what shall y don,  
Bataill us moste thene be Soneday,  
Or ellys delivere hym the toun.  
The lordys of Roon togydere gon rown,  
And bad he sholde the town up yelde,  
The kyng of Ingelond is fers as lyon,  
We wil noughte mete hym in the felde.  
*Wot ye right well, &c.*

The capteyn went agen withoute lettyng,  
Before the kyng on kneys gau fall,  
Heyl, he seyde, comely kyng,  
Most worthy prynce in this world riall,  
Here y have brought yow the keyes alle,  
Of Harflew that faire toun,  
All is youre owne both towr and halle,  
At your will Lord and at your croun.  
*Wot ye right well, &c.*

## cclvi. . . . The Battle of Agincourt.

I thanke God, thanne seyde oure kyng,  
And Mary his modir that is so fre;  
Myn uncle Dorset withoute lettyng,  
Capteyn of Harflewre schall ye be.  
And al that is in that toun,  
Wot stille shall abyde,  
To maken up that is adoun,  
That hath ben fellyd on every syde.  
*Wot ye right well, &c.*

Meyne I now shall with yow ride,  
To se the toun there overall,  
Wyff no child lett non abyde,  
But have them ought bothe grete and small;  
And let stuffe the toun overall,  
With Englysshmen thereinne to be;  
They left no Frenssh blod withinne the wall,  
But hadde all oute the comunalte.  
*Wot ye right well, &c.*

Four hundred women and children men myght se,  
Whanne they wenten out sore gon they wepe;  
The grete gonnes, engynes, to the trewle,  
They were brought into Harflete,  
Oure kyng unto the castell yede,  
And restyd hym there as his will was,  
Sire, he seyde, so God me spede  
To Caleys warde I thenke to pas.  
*Wot ye right well that thus it was*  
*Gloria tibi Trinitas.*



PASSUS SECUNDUS.

Whanne Harflete was getyn, that ryall toun,  
Through the grace of God omnipotent,  
Oure kyng he made hym redy boun,  
And to Caleys ward full faire he went;  
My brother Clarence verament,  
Ye shall ryde al be my syde,  
My cosyn York ye take entent,  
For ye shall also this tyde.  
*Wot ye right well, &c.*

My cosyn Huntyngham shall with me ryde,  
The erl of Suffolk that is so fre,  
The erl of Oxenford shall not abyde,  
He shall comen forth with his meyne,  
Sire Thomas Erpyngham that nevere dide faille,  
And yit another so mote y thee,  
Sire John, the knyght of Cornewaille,  
He dar abyde and that know yee.  
*Wot ye right well, &c.*

Sire Gilbert Umfreville wil us avayle,  
The lord Clyfford so God me spede,  
Sire William Boucer that will not faille,  
They will us helpe when we hav nede,  
Toward Caleys full faire they yede,  
In the cuntrey of Picardie,  
And out of Normandie they gan ryde;  
Now Crist save all the cumpanye.  
*Wot ye right well, &c.*

Our kyng rood forth, blessed he be,  
He sparid neither dale ne doun,  
Be townes grete, and castell hyghe,  
Til he com to the water of Som,  
The brigge the Frensshemen hadde drawe a doun,  
That over the water he myght nought ryde,  
Oure kyng made hym redy boun,  
And to the water of Turwyn he com that tyde.  
*Wot ye right well, &c.*

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Oure kyng rood forth thanne full good sped.  
Into the countrey of Turvyle,  
To Agyncourt now as he is ride,  
There as oure kyng dyd his bataile;  
Be the water of Swerdys withoute faile,  
The Frensshemen oure kyng thei did aspye,  
And there they thought him to assaile,  
All in that feld certeynlye.

*Wot ye right well, &c.*

The Frensshemen hadde oure kynge umbast,  
With bataill strong on every syde;  
The duke of Orlions seyde in hast,  
The kyng of Ingelond with us shall byde,  
He gaf hym leve this way to ryde,  
Be God, me thenke, he was not wys,  
Therefore shall y now be hys gyde,  
Or that he come to strong Caleyas.

*Wot ye right well, &c.*

The duke of Braban answerd then,  
And seyde, be God in Trinite,  
Ther be so fewe of thise Inglysshmen,  
I have no deynte them to se;  
Alas! he seyde, what nedith us alle,  
To day so many for to comen here,  
XX<sup>o</sup> of us it will befalle,  
Of them on prisonere.

*Wot ye right well, &c.*

The duk of Burbon sware be seynt Denys,  
And other lordes many on,  
We will goo pleye them at dys,  
The lordys of Ingelond everych on,  
Ther gentilmen seide, be swete seynt John;  
Ther archers be sold full fayr pleute,  
And alle the beste bowemen ich on,  
All for a blank of oure mone.

*Wot ye right well, &c.*

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And thanne answerde the duke of Barrye,  
With wordes that were full mochell of pryde,  
Be God, he seyde, y wil not sparye,  
Over the Englysshmen y thenke to ryde;  
And if that they dar us abyde,  
We shall overthrowe them alle in fere;  
Goo we and slee them in this tyde,  
And come hom agen to oure dynere.  
*Wot ye right well, &c.*

Oure gracious kyng, that is so good,  
He batailyd hym ful rially;  
Stakes he hewe down in a wood,  
Beforn our archers pyght them on hy;  
Oure ordynaunce the Frensshemen gan aspy,  
They that were ordeynyd for to ryde,  
They lighted down with sorwe and cry,  
And on their feet their gon abyde.  
*Wot ye right well, &c.*

The duke of York thaune full son  
Before oure kyng he fell on kne,  
My liege lord, graunt me a bon,  
For his love that on croys gan die,  
The fore ward this day that ye graunt me,  
To be before yow in this feld;  
Be myn baner slayn wil y be,  
Or y will turne my backe or me yelde.  
*Wot ye right well, &c.*

Gramercy cosyn, seyde our kyng,  
Thenk on the right of mery Ingelond;  
And thanne he gaff hym his blessyng,  
And bad the duke he sholde up stond,  
Crist he seyde that shop bothe sone and sonde,  
And art lord and kyng of myght,  
This day hold over me thin holy hound,  
And spede me well in al my right.  
*Wot ye right well, &c.*

ccix. . . . The Battle of Agincourt

Help seynt George oure lady knyght,  
 Seynt Edward that is so fre,  
 Oure lady that art Godys modyr bright,  
 And seynt Thomas of Cauaterbure;  
 He had alle men blithe to be,  
 And seyde, Felas well shall we spede,  
 Every man in his degre,  
 I shall yow quyte full well youre mede.  
*Wot ye right well, &c.*

Oure kyng seyde Felas what tyme of day?  
 Sire thei seyde it is ner pryme;  
 Go we anon to this jornay,  
 Be the grace of God it is good tyme,  
 For alle the seyntes that lyn in shryne,  
 To God for us they be praieng,  
 The religious of Ingelond all benynge,  
 'Ora pro nobis' for us they syng.  
*Wot ye right well, &c.*

The kyng knelyd down in that stounde,  
 And Englysshmen on every syde,  
 And thries there kysayd the grounde,  
 And on there feet gon glyde;  
 Crist, seyde the kyng, as y am thi knyght,  
 This day me save for Ingelond sake,  
 And lat nevere that good Reme for me be fright,  
 Ne me on lyve this day be take.  
*Wot ye right well, &c.*

Avaunt baner, withoute lettyng,  
 Seynt George before avowe we hyme,  
 The baner of the Trynaye forth ye bryng,  
 And seynte Edward baner at this tyme;  
 Over he seyde Lady Hevene Quene,  
 Myn own baner with hire shall be  
 The Frensshman seyde al be dene,  
 Seynt George all over oure kyng they se.  
*Wot ye right well, &c.*

## The Batyle of Agincourt. . . . cclxi

They triumphyd up full meryly,  
The grete bataille togyder yede;  
Oure archiers shotte full hertyly,  
And made Frensshemen faste to blede;  
There arwes wente full good sped,  
Oure enemyes therwith doun gon falle,  
Thorugh bresplate, habirion, and bassonet yede,  
Slayn there were xj thousand on a rowe alle.  
*Wot ye right well &c.*

Oure gracious kyng men myghte knowe,  
That day he faught wishe his owne hond,  
He sparyd nother heigh no lowe,  
There was no man his dynt myght stand;  
There was nevere no kyng yit in this lond,  
That evere dyd better in a day,  
Therefore all Ingelond may synge oo song,  
'Laus Deo' we may well say.  
*Wot ye right well, &c*

The duk of Gloucestre, that is no nay,  
That day full worthyly he wroughte,  
On every syde he made good way,  
The Frensshemen faste to grounde he brought.  
The erl of Huntynghdon sparyd nought;  
The erl of Oxenford layd on all soo;  
The yonge erl of Devenshire he ne rought;  
The Frensshemen faste to grounde gan goo.  
*Wot ye right well, &c.*

The duk of Orlions thanne was woo,  
That day was taken prisonere;  
The erl of Ewe he was also;  
The duke of Bruband slayn was there;  
The duke of Barre fast hym by;  
The duke of Launson wente nevere away;  
Ne the erle Neverse certeynly,  
Ne many other lordes that y cannot say.  
*Wot ye right well, &c.*



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The erl of Rychemond certeynly,  
That day was taken in the feld ;  
The erl of Vendue was right sory ;  
And Sir Bursegaunt he gan hym yeld ;  
And thus oure kyng conqueryd the feld,  
Through the grace of God omnipotent ;  
He toke his prisoners yonge and olde,  
And faire to Caleys ward thanne he went ;  
The yere of his regne the thridde this was.  
*Gloria tibi Trinitas."*

THE collection of every contemporary writer's account of the proceedings of the English army, from its departure until its glorious achievement of the Battle of Agincourt, would render any observations upon the subject superfluous, if it were not the duty of an historian to endeavour to deduce from the various statements of his authorities a connected narrative of those facts which may be received as truth. In the execution of this task, the utmost indulgence may perhaps be fairly claimed, for the attempt to reconcile conflicting testimony, even when the witnesses have been subjected to a severe personal

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examination, is justly deemed an arduous undertaking. But when we have no means of learning the characters of the numerous writers who have been cited, or their manner of being informed of the events which they relate; when we find some of them, though stating that they were actually present on the occasion, differing materially in their assertions; when scarcely two of them agree as to the number of the combatants; and more than all, when an allowance is to be made for national prejudices, even in those whose relations appear to be most worthy of credit, the difficulty of forming an accurate judgment, is far greater, and the effort necessarily claims a liberal construction.

It was stated in a former page,<sup>a</sup> that the number of individuals of which Henry's army was composed on his invasion of Normandy, may be estimated at about thirty thousand. With these forces he embarked on board his ship the Trinity, between Portsmouth and

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<sup>a</sup> p lxxxvi.

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Southampton, on the 10th of August, and on the following day, Sunday the 11th quitted England with a favorable wind.<sup>b</sup> His fleet is said by the Chronicler whose narrative has been inserted in the text, to have consisted of fifteen hundred sail, of which number one hundred remained behind;<sup>c</sup> but this account, like that of almost every other material circumstance, is opposed by another writer, who estimates them at one thousand.<sup>d</sup> As however the greater part of the authorities agree in the former assertion, we may conclude that it contained from twelve to fourteen hundred vessels of various sizes from twenty to three hundred tons.<sup>e</sup> It appears that the signal for departure was the same as still forms part of the notice from the commander to his squadron to prepare for sea, unfurling the principal sail, and which on this occasion intimated to the vessels in the different creeks and havens in the neigh-

<sup>b</sup> p. lxxxix.

<sup>c</sup> p. xc.

<sup>d</sup> p. xc note c.

<sup>e</sup> See pp xxxvii, and lxxxv i., note n.

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bourhood of the king's ship, that they were to collect around the vessel of their sovereign. Two incidents indicative of the superstition which is so characteristic of the age, are mentioned as having occurred before Henry was many miles from the English coast, the one of a favorable nature, swans being seen swimming about the fleet; and the other of an ominous description, the loss by fire of three of the largest ships.\* The latter circumstance stands upon the authority of St. Remy alone, but the minute accuracy for which he is distinguished, prevents a doubt of the fact being excited on the subject by the silence of every other chronicler. Uninfluenced by the direful presages of many who were present, in consequence of that untoward accident, Henry proceeded on his voyage; and having entered the Seine at five o'clock in the afternoon of Tuesday, the 13th of August, anchored before a place called Clef de Caus, or Kidecaus, three miles

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from Harfleur. A council was instantly summoned, when it was resolved to disembark the next morning, and that no one under the severest penalty, should land before the king. This order was, we are told, issued to prevent the troops from quitting their transports until the proper time, so that they might not disperse in search of plunder, and thus leave the king unprotected. Soon after sun-rise on the following day, Wednesday the 14th of August, the earl of Huntingdon was sent with a party of cavalry to reconnoitre Harfleur and its vicinity, with the view of selecting a proper situation for the encampment of the army. Upon their return, or more probably shortly before, Henry disembarked his forces, between the hours of six and seven in the morning, and having received the earl's report, he took up his position on the hill nearest to the town of Harfleur; between, on the side towards the river, a coppice wood; and on the other, farms and orchards, where he remained until the horses and mate-



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rich of his army was landed. His disembarkation was it appears entirely unresisted; and the chronicler in the text has taken considerable trouble to describe the natural, as well as artificial obstacles which the place presented to their landing, and the means which it afforded of a successful defence, had the French availed themselves of these advantages. . . He expressly tells us, that "if they had had the hearts of men," the slightest opposition would have repulsed them for a long time, even if it would not have entirely prevented their descent.<sup>8</sup> To what cause this singular fact is to be attributed, it would be useless to inquire, unless we adopt the explanation given by the writer who styles himself Titus Livius, who says, that the inhabitants were almost panic-struck at the sight of the expedition, and fled through the fields, spreading wherever they went the news of the invasion. . .

From Wednesday the 14th, to Saturday the 17th of August, it may be

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inferred that the army was employed in unloading the fleet, but upon the latter day preparations were made for advancing against Harfleur; and a proclamation was issued, forbidding, under pain of death, a repetition of some excesses which had been committed, and commanding that henceforth the houses should not be set on fire, or the churches or other sacred places violated, and that the persons of women and priests should be deemed sacred, unless any of the latter were actually armed or acting hostilely against them.<sup>h</sup> If we may credit Titus Livius, who with the minute fidelity of a monkish chronicler of his age, records every pious act performed by his sovereign, the moment Henry landed he fell upon his knees, and devoutly besought the Almighty to grant him "justice" upon his enemies; and from our knowledge of his character we may safely believe that the circumstance occurred. Immediately afterwards he conferred the honor of knighthood upon many of

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<sup>h</sup> p. xc.

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his followers, and selected such as were most distinguished for strength and valour, for the honorable office of banner bearers.<sup>1</sup> Having celebrated the festival of the Assumption of our Lady, at the place where he encamped immediately after he landed, the army marched towards Harfleur on Saturday the 17th, in three lines; and on arriving near it, the king took up his position with the main body on the hill, and posted the remainder as wings. Harfleur is so minutely described, that it is only necessary to refer to the account of it, to obtain a complete plan of its form and extent when the English appeared before it.<sup>2</sup> In that narrative there is a curious allusion to the amusements of the country people of England at the period, for when speaking of the shape of the town we are informed that it was more in diameter than "the cast of a stone, with which our common people in England were wont to amuse themselves by the road side."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> p. cxvi note.

<sup>2</sup> pp. xv-cl.

<sup>3</sup> p. c.

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No sooner had the army taken up its quarters before the town, than orders were issued for pressing the siege with the utmost vigour; and on the next day, Sunday the 18th of August, the lord de Gaucourt reinforced the garrison, which Monstrelet says consisted of four hundred men at arms, with three hundred lances from the part which in consequence of the rivers was not then invested.<sup>m</sup> Here again the king's piety is presented to our view by his biographer before cited, who takes care to state, that he devoted a place in the rear of his camp, to serve as a church.<sup>n</sup> On the night of Sunday the 18th, the duke of Clarence, of whom we have a glowing eulogy, was sent with a division of the army to press the siege on the opposite side; but in the attempt to reach it, he had a rencontre with the enemy which terminated in their flight and defeat, leaving in his hands several waggons, laden with guns, powder, arrows, and cross-bows, which were sent from Rouen

<sup>m</sup> pp. cii-ciii.

<sup>n</sup> p. cii note c.



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for the defence of Harfleur.<sup>a</sup> A passage was immediately made between the king's camp and that of the duke, at which moment the town became completely surrounded, for the fleet and boats were ordered to blockade it towards the sea.<sup>b</sup> As soon as it was thus invested, the king summoned it to surrender; but having received a positive refusal, he caused his guns and engines of war to be planted within range of the walls.<sup>c</sup> These were covered with thick planks, for the protection of the men who directed them; and a former page presents a curious description of the battering train then used on such occasions,<sup>d</sup> from which it is evident that the utmost exertion of the military tactics of the day were vigorously employed against the besieged. The enemy are admitted to have conducted themselves with great bravery,<sup>e</sup> and the zeal of their opponents was not greater than what was displayed by the garrison in resisting their various stratagems and assaults.

<sup>a</sup> pp. ciii-cv.

<sup>b</sup> p. c v note.

<sup>c</sup> pp. cvi-cvii

<sup>d</sup> pp. cvii-cviii

<sup>e</sup> p. cxi.



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A French writer, upon whose narrative the greatest reliance may in general be placed, states, that many French noblemen were appointed to assemble, with about six hundred horse as near as possible to the English camp, with the view of harassing it by ambuscades; and a serious skirmish between the cavalry of the two armies is said to have occurred.<sup>†</sup> During the siege, Henry twice attempted to undermine the town, but the miners of each side having met; and fought under ground,<sup>‡</sup> the English sustained so great a loss, that the king commanded them to abandon the project.<sup>§</sup> The chronicler in the text however endeavours to prove, that though they were unsuccessful in their immediate object, the mines nevertheless produced a good effect, by inspiring the enemy with terror.<sup>||</sup>

The siege continued with unabated vigour; and the measures adopted are not only related with great perspicuity, but

<sup>†</sup> *St. Remy*, see p. cix ante, note 2.      <sup>‡</sup> p. cxii note

<sup>§</sup> p. cxv.      <sup>||</sup> p. cxiii.

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such of them as were accordant, or in opposition to the rules of warfare laid down by "Master Giles,"<sup>2</sup> are particularly noticed; and it is said by one writer, that on the first of September, the garrison sent a messenger, whom they lowered by night over the walls, to the duke de Guyenne, to acquaint him with their situation, and to ask for assistance.<sup>3</sup>

Besides the loss arising from the usual effects of hostilities, the English forces were visited by a severe dysentery, which made frightful havock in their camp; and among its victims was Richard Courtenay, bishop of Norwich, who died on the 15th September after five days illness, having received from the king's own hands the last offices of religion and of friendship.<sup>4</sup> The character of that prelate is portrayed in striking colours, and in addition to the fact just noticed indicative of the large share which he possessed of his sovereign's esteem,

<sup>2</sup> See note to p. xcviij.    <sup>3</sup> *Des Ursins*, see p. cvi ante, note w.

<sup>4</sup> pp. cxvii, and cxviii.

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Henry's regard was further displayed by his causing the bishop's body to be conveyed to England, and deposited in the royal cemetery in Westminster Abbey. On the same day on which Courtenay died, a part of the garrison sallied upon their enemies, and set their most important fortification on fire, but which however was speedily extinguished, and the French were compelled to retreat.\*

The siege now approached to a successful conclusion; for in the afternoon of the following day, Monday the 16th of September, the earl of Huntingdon, whose conduct seems to justify the praises bestowed upon him, repulsed a sally which a part of the garrison made upon his division, and set fire to their strongest bulwark. The utmost advantage was instantly taken of this fortunate event, by a detachment being sent to the spot to prevent the enemy from subduing the flames; and after some opposition the latter were obliged to retire under the walls of the town, when the

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\* p. cxviii.

### The Battle of Agincourt.....ccclxxv

former were left in possession of the fortification. Fearing lest the English should avail themselves of the breach through which they had retreated, they used the greatest diligence in blocking it up; but it appears that their opponents were too much occupied in attempting to put out the fire, to pursue them, as we are told that with every possible exertion, two or three days elapsed before it could be got under.<sup>b</sup>

Dispirited at the loss of their principal defence, and probably being nearly exhausted by so protracted a siege, the garrison consented to a conference, but their difficulties were not sufficiently great, to induce them to accept Henry's propositions; who being exasperated at their refusal, resolved to adopt the most prompt and vigorous means of reducing them. Preparations were accordingly made for storming the town on the ensuing day, and the sailors of the squadron as well as the army, were commanded to hold themselves in readiness. During

<sup>b</sup> pp cxix-cxx.

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the night the garrison was more than usually harassed by missiles of every description, with the view of preventing them from taking any rest, so that being worn out with fatigue and want of sleep, they might be the less capable of resisting their assailants in the assault.<sup>c</sup> But the hopes, if not the courage of the besieged now gave way, and a message was sent to the duke of Clarence before day-break, entreating him to prevail on the king to grant them terms; when the earl of Dorset, lord Fitz Hugh, and the renowned sir Thomas Erpingham, were immediately appointed to treat with them. They at first demanded a cessation of arms until the 6th of October, offering, if by that time they did not receive assistance from the king of France or the Dauphin, to surrender the town: but meeting with a positive refusal, accompanied by an intimation that they must yield at discretion on the following morning, they entreated that hostilities might be suspended until the

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<sup>c</sup> pp. cxxi-cxxii.



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ensuing Sunday at one o'clock, on which day they promised to surrender Harfleur, provided they were not by that time relieved.<sup>d</sup> An anonymous writer, but whose narrative is not entitled to equal credit, informs us, that the garrison only asked for two days, in which to receive the expected succours, and that Henry, with a generosity totally incredible on such an occasion, told them it was too short a time, and proposed to enlarge it until two o'clock on the said Sunday.<sup>e</sup> On Wednesday the 18th of September, the agreement to surrender on the following Sunday at one o'clock, if not previously relieved, was solemnly ratified, and twenty-four hostages, selected from the most important persons in Harfleur, were delivered into Henry's hands;<sup>f</sup> whilst a message was, according to the agreement, dispatched to the French king, to inform him of the

<sup>d</sup> p. cxxiii, note <sup>d</sup>. This account is also confirmed by an anonymous unedited Chronicle in the *Cottonian MS. Julius B. I*

<sup>e</sup> p. cxxiv, note <sup>e</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> pp cxxv-cxxvi. The names of the hostages will be found in p. cxxiv note <sup>e</sup>, and p. cxxvi note <sup>h</sup>

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state of the town.<sup>s</sup> The solemn manner in which the inhabitants pledged themselves to adhere to the convention, is deserving of notice. The bishop of Bangor, dressed in his pontificals, carried the Eucharist, upon which the besieged were to swear to the performance of the prescribed conditions, to the walls of Harfleur, being preceded by thirty-two chaplains, each in his surplice, amice, and cope, and attended by as many esquires, dressed alike, one of whom bore a lighted taper before every priest. Having taken the oaths, the inhabitants were told that they need not fear improper treatment, for that the king had no wish to ruin his territory; and the bishop and his retinue then returned to the camp.<sup>h</sup> Titus Livius gives rather a different account of the terms upon which the town was surrendered; as he says that on its being delivered into Henry's hands, thirty of the principal inhabitants named by him, were placed at his mercy, and that the others

<sup>s</sup> p. cxxvii note 3

<sup>h</sup> pp. cxxv-cxxvi

### **The Battle of Agincourt. . . . cclxxix**

were allowed to depart, leaving their goods behind them.<sup>i</sup> Upon the day on which the truce was formed, Michael, earl of Suffolk, died of the disease which had proved fatal to the bishop of Norwich; and the description given of his son and successor is interesting, from the circumstance of that young nobleman having fallen at Agincourt.<sup>k</sup>

On Sunday the 22nd of September, before which day, the messengers from the town to the king of France had returned with a reply, purporting that from the army not having assembled no aid could be afforded,<sup>l</sup> Harfleur was surrendered into Henry's hands. Few subjects afford such exercise for the pencil, as the narratives printed in the preceding pages, of the ceremony observed upon that occasion; and though it is impossible to describe it with the force and vigour of the contemporary English writers who have recorded it, it is necessary that an account, embracing such of their various

<sup>i</sup> p. cxxvi, note <sup>h</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> p. cxxvii.

<sup>l</sup> p. cvxxii note <sup>j</sup>.

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statements as are consistent with probability and with each other, should be attempted. At the appointed hour Henry being dressed in the robes, and wearing the ensigns of sovereignty, ascended a throne which had been erected for the purpose, under a pavilion of silk, on the top of the hill opposite to the town. Around him were assembled the whole of the personages of rank, who had survived the siege and the disease which had so thinned his followers; and upon his right stood the gallant sir Gilbert d'Umfreville, earl of Kyme, bearing on a halbert staff the royal helmet, surmounted by the crown.<sup>m</sup> But no language can convey so perfect an idea of the dignified appearance of the king, as the following quaint passage of a writer, who was probably an eye witness of the scene, "Our king sat in his estate as ryale as ded ever eny kynge; and as it is saide, there never was crysten kynge so ryall nother so lordly, sat in his see as dide he."<sup>n</sup> From the regal

<sup>m</sup> p. cxxviii.      <sup>n</sup> p. cxxix note a.

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tent to the town, a passage was formed by the English soldiers, through which the late governor, sir Lionel Braquemont, the lord de Gaucourt, and other distinguished knights, with the host borne before them, and attended by those who had sworn to observe the treaty, and by thirty four individuals, entered the king's presence; having, according to one writer,<sup>o</sup> been received at the entrance of the tent, and conducted to the king by some English lords and knights. As soon as they were admitted, the chief personage among them advanced towards the throne, and kneeling, laid the keys of Harfleur before the king, whom he addressed to this effect, "Most victorious prince, behold, here are the keys of this town, which agreeably to our promise, we yield unto you, me, and my company." Henry then promised them, that notwithstanding they had, "in opposition to God and all justice," kept his town from him, yet in consideration of their having submitted to his mercy, his grace

<sup>o</sup> p. cxxix note "



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and clemency should not be entirely withheld from them. The assembly was then dismissed, and the hostages and others of the principal prisoners, to the number of sixty-six, were magnificently entertained at supper; after which they were entrusted to the custody of certain confidential men of the army, who were positively enjoined to treat them honorably.<sup>p</sup> Here the difficulty which has been before alluded to, of exactly reconciling the different statements of contemporary writers first presents itself; for the inedited chronicler just cited, states that when the hostages came to the English camp, they all knelt down, but were not then allowed to see the king, and were taken to other tents, where they again knelt for a long time, but still it is expressly said, they did not see his majesty; that from thence they were brought to an inner tent, and once more knelt without seeing the king; that they were at last led to where Henry was, before whom they knelt for a long time,

<sup>p</sup> p. cxxx note 9.

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for he "would not reward them with a look, until they had long kneeled, and then the king gave them a reward with his look, and made a countenance, to the earl of Dorset, that he should take of them the keys; and there were the French men taken up and made cheer."<sup>9</sup>

This statement does not contradict the others, and merely allows of the inference, that instead of the hostages having been immediately brought into the royal tent, they were made to submit to various preliminary humiliations. It is however certain, that they were admitted to an audience of Henry with much ceremony; and that they were afterwards hospitably entertained, though he did not honor the feast with his presence.

Thus after a vigorous siege of about thirty six days, one of the most important towns of Normandy fell into the hands of the invaders; and whilst the narratives in the preceding pages, bear ample testimony to the zeal and valour of the assailants, they afford

<sup>9</sup> p cxxix note "

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equal evidence of the greatest bravery and exertions on the part of the besieged. Independently of the defence of the town, for which it is manifest that nothing which the military skill of the age could devise was left untried, we find that they continually sallied upon the English army; that they opposed their mines with success; that they conveyed all their ships within the port, bound them together by chains, and made numerous attempts to attack the English fleet, though they were uniformly repulsed;<sup>c</sup> and in a word, that they fully merited the repeated eulogiums of the English chronicler who witnessed their efforts,<sup>d</sup> who admits that "no human judgment could resist the attacks with more prudence or caution;"<sup>e</sup> and that as not a word occurs of a failure of provisions or stores, the town surrendered solely from the want of a sufficient force to defend it.

Soon after the keys were delivered to the earl Marshal, the banners of St.

<sup>c</sup> p. cxxi note c.

<sup>d</sup> pp. cix and cxi.

<sup>e</sup> pp. cxi and cxi

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George and the king floated over the gates of Harfleur, of which the earl of Dorset, the king's great uncle, was appointed captain and governor; and to whose custody the keys were immediately entrusted. On the ensuing day, Monday, the 23rd of September, Henry entered the town. He dismounted at the gates and took off his shoes and stockings and proceeded barefooted to the church of St. Martin, where he gave solemn thanks to God for his success;<sup>u</sup> and commanded that all the women and children as well as the poor, should be separated from those who had sworn allegiance to him, and from those who having refused to take the oath, were considered as prisoners;<sup>v</sup> and the next day they were sent out of the town to the number of, from one thousand five hundred to two thousand.<sup>w</sup> Upon quitting their residence they exhibited every symptom of grief and despair, but an escort attended them beyond the En-

<sup>u</sup> p. cxxxix note 9.

<sup>v</sup> p. cxxxii.

<sup>w</sup> p. cxxxix note 9, and pp. cxxxii, cxxxiv.

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glish camp to protect them from the attacks of the freebooters.<sup>2</sup> Another writer says, they were permitted to dress themselves in their best apparel; to carry with them what they pleased, provided it did not form a large bundle; that their bosoms were forbidden to be searched; and that when they reached St. Aubin, a town about four miles east of Harfleur, they gave them bread, wine, and cheese, and entreated them to drink. The English escorted them as far as Lislebone, twelve miles from Harfleur, where marshal Boucigault received them; from whence they were the next day sent to Rouen.<sup>3</sup> The same chronicler informs us, that a brother of Henry entered Harfleur on the Monday in great pomp, and caused such as would not swear fealty to the conqueror, to be sent to England; that he went from house to house mounted on a small horse, and commanded that every thing should be delivered up to him upon pain of death; and that besides the privilege allowed to

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<sup>2</sup> p. cxxxiv

<sup>3</sup> p. cxxxi note p



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the women, which has just been mentioned, the persons of the priests were ordered to be held equally sacred.<sup>2</sup> If this account be correct, the splendour of the royal duke formed a striking contrast to the pious humility of the king. The principal soldiers and inhabitants were treated as prisoners; and on the following Friday, September the 27th, the lord de Gaucourt, several of the citizens, sixty knights, and above two hundred gentlemen, forming the greater part of the nobility of Normandy, were allowed to depart having first sworn in the most solemn manner, to surrender themselves at Calais on the 10th of November, in the same year. Other conditions were, it is said annexed, which with all the conventions relating to the reduction of Harfleur, would be found in "the Book of Records." Of this "Book of Records," which is again spoken of, nothing unfortunately is now known; but the notice taken of such a registry of public transactions is de-

<sup>2</sup> p. cxxx. note 2.

<sup>2</sup> p. cxxxv.

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serving of attention, for we may conclude that it was the custom of the age to commit such agreements to writing, not merely on detached copies of treaties many of which are still preserved and are inserted in the *Fædera*, but that they were then all regularly entered into books provided for the purpose. Another motive for Henry's dismissal of his prisoners, was, it is said, that by their influence with the French court, the war might the sooner be brought to a close.<sup>b</sup>

The booty found in Harfleur, together with a great many horses, were distributed amongst the army, each man receiving according to his rank and merits;<sup>c</sup> besides which, some of the most affluent citizens redeemed themselves by heavy ransoms.<sup>d</sup> The vacancy which the departure of the prisoners had made in the town, Henry endeavoured to supply by proclaiming throughout England, that whatever tradesman would settle there, should receive a house and household to hold to him and his heirs for

<sup>b</sup> p. cxxxv.

<sup>c</sup> p. cxxxvi note 7.

<sup>d</sup> p. cxxxii note 2.

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ever; in consequence of which, many of the merchants and working classes came over and took up their residence at Harfleur.<sup>a</sup>

At this part of the chronicler's narrative which is introduced into the text, he states that Henry being actuated by an earnest wish to find some other means for terminating the war than by the sword, sent his herald Guyenne, and the lord de Gaucourt, to the Dauphin, to signify to him that he had been expecting, and should still expect him at Harfleur within the eight following days; and requested him to inform him during that period whether he was yet grieved at the loss of human blood, and would cause his right to be admitted, and thus come to peace with him; or whether after having entered into the necessary securities that the kingdom of France should belong to the victor, he would consent to meet him in personal combat.<sup>f</sup> If the date assigned to that letter, a copy of which will be

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<sup>a</sup> p. cxxxiii note.

<sup>f</sup> p. cxxxvi

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found in a former page,<sup>k</sup> be correct, it must have been written two days preceding the suspension of hostilities, and six days before Harfleur was actually in Henry's hands, but which can scarcely be reconciled with the fact of its being dated "at our town of Harfleur." Moreover, we are told that at the expiration of the eight days after the letter was forwarded, the king resolved to prosecute his journey; hence if the document was dated on the 16th, that resolution must have been taken on the 24th of September, upon which day he had not even dismissed his prisoners, or made the necessary arrangements for the defence of Harfleur. Under all the circumstances, the date attributed to the challenge in the *Fœdera*,<sup>h</sup> may

<sup>k</sup> p. cxxxvii note w.

<sup>h</sup> The MS. from which the copy of the letter in question in the *Fœdera* was taken is still extant, in the Cottonian collection marked *Caligula D v*, but it was considerably injured in the fire to which that library was exposed. Sufficient however remains to shew that it was a contemporaneous transcript of the original. The date certainly now appears to be "Donne soubz nostre prive Seal, a notre ville de Harfleur le xvj jour de Septembre," but as the letters "xvj" occur close to the left hand margin, it is possible that another "x" may have preceded

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be safely considered to be erroneous, and that instead of the *sixteenth* it was written on the *twenty-sixth* of September, which would exactly agree with the assertion that Guyenne, the bearer of it, accompanied the lord de Gaucourt, who is expressly said to have left Harfleur on his parole on the twenty-seventh of that month.<sup>k</sup>

The point is of little consequence, excepting that the correction of the date of that curious communication was necessary to reconcile it with other circumstances, and, hence, to prevent any erroneous impression as to its authenticity. Of the personal valour which that letter displays on the part of Henry, but little can be said, for it must not be forgotten that the challenger was about twenty seven years of age, and in the full vigour of manhood, whilst his adversary, of whose prowess or personal

that which is at present visible, and that the flames have rendered it illegible. The space however which it would have occupied remains unconsumed; and the supposed error in the date may therefore perhaps be attributed to the transcriber of it

<sup>i</sup> p. cxxxv.

<sup>k</sup> p. cxxxv



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strength we have not the slightest evidence, and who died in the December following, had not attained his twentieth year. Such a combat would have possessed nothing approaching to equality; and as the proposition for it came from the strongest party, its refusal can no more be deemed to impeach the courage of the challenged, than the offer can add to the renown of him from whom it emanated. It is true that Henry explains that the infirmity, or in other words, imbecility of the French king prevented his addressing it to him; but there was little of true bravery, even under such circumstances, in wishing to meet a mere youth in the field; and still less of "justice" in expecting that so important a stake should be hazarded on such a meeting.

At the expiration of eight days after the letter to the dauphin was forwarded, and which must have been the 5th of October, Henry held a council to deliberate upon his future proceedings.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> pp. cxxxviii-cxli, and note \*

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At that moment the state of his army became the primary object of consideration; and as its extent is of the utmost importance in relation to the merits of the battle which has immortalized his name, it is necessary that considerable attention should be here given to the subject.

The chronicler in the text informs us, that the dysentery had carried off infinitely more than were slain in the siege; that about five thousand men were then so dreadfully debilitated by that disease that they were unable to proceed, and were therefore sent to England; that three hundred men at arms and nine hundred archers were left to garrison Harfleur; that great numbers had cowardly deserted the king and returned home by stealth; and that after all these deductions, not more than nine hundred lances and five thousand archers remained fit for service.<sup>m</sup> To avoid the necessity of again alluding to the amount of the English army at the battle

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<sup>m</sup> pp. cxxxix-cxI

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of Agincourt, for there could have been but a very slight difference between its extent on quitting Harfleur and on that eventful day, the point will now be fully discussed. The following are the statements of the different writers who have been so frequently cited in the preceding pages:

THE STATEMENTS OF CONTEMPORARY WRITERS RELATIVE TO THE AMOUNT OF THE ENGLISH ARMY AT THE BATTLE OF AGINCOURT.

English Writers.

	Men at Arms	Archers.
Chronicler in the text. <sup>a</sup>	900	5000
Ibid. <sup>b</sup>		6000 fighting men.
Chronicler in the Harl. MS. 565, <sup>c</sup> and Walsyngham. <sup>d</sup>	} 8000 fighting men.	
Note to Hardyng's Chronicle.	900	5000
Chronicler in the Cottonian } MS <i>Claudius A viii.</i> <sup>e</sup>	} Not above 7000 fighting men.	
Hardyng. <sup>f</sup>		9000 fighting men.
Records of the city of Salisbury. <sup>g</sup>	{ Not above 10,000 fighting men.	

Neither Titus Livius nor Elmham give any precise account of the numbers of the two armies. The former merely states, that the English lines were four men deep, whilst the French lines were thirty one men deep,<sup>h</sup>

<sup>a</sup> See p. cxl.      <sup>b</sup> p. ccxxx.      <sup>c</sup> p. ccxxx. note.

<sup>d</sup> p. clxxxvij note.      <sup>e</sup> p. ccxxx. note

<sup>f</sup> p. ccxxxiii note.      <sup>g</sup> p. ccxxxvii.      <sup>h</sup> p. clxxxii note.

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and the latter says, that the English lines were four  
and the French above twenty men deep.<sup>1</sup>

### French Writers.

|                                                   |                             |                                |
|---------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
|                                                   | <small>Men at Arms.</small> |                                |
| The chronicle Des Ursins. <sup>k</sup>            | 4000                        | 4000 gros valets, &c.          |
| Ibid. <sup>1</sup>                                | 4000                        | 16 to 18,000 archers,<br>[&c   |
| Monstrelet. <sup>m</sup>                          | } 2000                      | 13,000 archers with<br>others. |
| St Remy. <sup>n</sup>                             | 900                         | 10,000 archers.                |
| Berry, First herald to Charles VI. <sup>o</sup>   | } 1500                      | 16 to 18,000 ar-<br>chers.     |
| Biographer of the Count of Richmond. <sup>p</sup> | } 10 to 12,000              | fighting men.                  |

Before referring to a more satisfactory criterion of the number of the army, it must be observed that the English writers, and still more a French historian, St. Remy, who positively says he was present, very nearly agree in their statements on the subject. There can be but little doubt that each man at arms was attended by two esquires,<sup>n</sup> so

<sup>1</sup> p. ccvi note.      <sup>k</sup> p. cxlviii note      <sup>l</sup> p. clxiii note.  
<sup>m</sup> p. cxl note 7.      <sup>n</sup> p. clxxxvii note      <sup>o</sup> p. ccxxiv note.  
                                          <sup>p</sup> p. ccxv note

<sup>n</sup> "In computing the number of an army, every man at arms should be counted as three, for each has his squire to bear his lance, and also his body squire. *Valliant* in his *History of France*, says, that three thousand men at arms amounted to nearly twelve thousand men" Dr Meyrick's *Critical In-*

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that if nine hundred, the amount of the men at arms, be multiplied by three, and the same added to five thousand, the number of the archers, the aggregate will be seven thousand seven hundred; whilst the officers and attendants of the army, of the description of whom, the list in a subsequent page affords a correct idea, may be justly deemed to have increased the whole amount of Henry's followers to between nine and ten thousand men. But the best evidence we possess for calculating them, is the list of the men at arms, with the amount of the retinue of each of the principal commanders, who are said to have been present at Agincourt, printed in this volume. Although the number there mentioned does not exceed five hundred and seventy lances and one thousand four hundred and forty archers, it appears from a copy<sup>e</sup> that has been since

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*quiry into Ancient Armour* Monsieur Vallant's estimate would make the English forces if they consisted of 900 men at arms and 5000 archers amount to 8600 fighting men.

\* In a MS. marked *M. I*; the variations between these copies are fully noticed at the end of the Roll, *infra*



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referred to, in the College of Arms, written in French, and which bears undoubted proof of having been transcribed from the original, that it was only a "parcell" of the names of those who were present, for at the end of the Roll is the following memorandum.

*Suñia totalis istius Rotuli, viij<sup>c</sup> xij lances.  
Suñia to<sup>r</sup> istius Rotuli, iij<sup>m</sup> lxxj sagitarr'.*

If, and which is highly probable, the word "parcell," applied only to the names, and not to the number, the above may be deemed the exact amount of the men at arms and archers who shared the laurels of that conflict. This conclusion is, as has been just remarked, supported, even if it be not established by the fact, that the names of the men at arms mentioned in it, do not extend to half eight hundred and twelve, whilst the archers referred to at the end of each of the respective "retinues," do not exceed one third of the number recorded on the roll. This criterion would reduce Henry's forces under the lowest

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estimate of either of the writers of the period; for when Monsieur Vaillant's rule for computing an army is applied to that statement, the gross number will be about six thousand three hundred and twenty. But, on the other hand, if the least regard be paid to the assertions of the French chroniclers, all hope of forming a correct judgment on the question is at an end, as the English army is rated by them at, from two thousand men at arms, and thirteen thousand archers, to four thousand lances, and sixteen or eighteen thousand archers; that is agreeably to the calculation alluded to, from twenty one thousand to thirty seven thousand fighting men. Absurd as some of these accounts must be, they are by no means unusual: on no occasion do chroniclers so much vary, as in the account of the forces brought into the field; and whether such contradictions arose from national vanity, from the desire of flattering the victors or consoling the conquered, or from positive ignorance, the effect is to plunge a sub-

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sequent historian into a whirlpool of embarrassments, from which it is not always possible to emerge. After the most impartial consideration of the question, it is however morally impossible to form any other conclusion, than that the English army which quitted Harfleur, did not exceed nine thousand fighting men; and there is a strong probability that it consisted of little more than seven thousand. Thus if the opinion be correct, that Henry landed with thirty thousand men, more than two thirds of his army must have been slain during the siege, have died of the dysentery, or have been sent to England by the king in consequence of their total inability to proceed.

At the council which assembled to deliberate on what would be the most advisable measures to adopt, it was decided that as winter was approaching, the army should return to England; but a dispute arose whether they should embark in the fleet, or march through

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France to Calais.<sup>p</sup> That the latter question could for a moment have been agitated in the existing state of affairs, is sufficient cause for astonishment; but that in opposition to the advice of the wisest of his council, Henry should have insisted upon marching direct to Calais, is almost incredible. Justly indeed, was it urged to him that his army was reduced to an insignificant amount; that many of the survivors were still suffering from the disease, which had destroyed so many of their countrymen; that even of these, many must be left for the defence of Harfleur; and that the enemy had collected an immense force from all parts of the country, to resist him: but to such arguments the king was deaf. He replied, that he was anxious to view the territories which by right were his own; that his trust was in God; that if he quitted Harfleur in the manner they proposed, the enemy would reproach them with cowardice; and that he was

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<sup>p</sup> p. cxli and cxli. note <sup>a</sup>.

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resolved at all hazards to proceed.<sup>9</sup> To deny Henry the merit of chivalrous hardihood for his determination, would be as unjust as it would be ridiculous to allude to it without the strongest censure for the rashness, and total recklessness of consequences, which it betrayed. Success, which it would have been madness to have calculated upon, most fortunately rewarded his daring conduct; but this, though a common, is a most fallacious criterion of the wisdom of a chieftain's actions: and though the mind is dazzled, and consequently misled by those extraordinary deeds of arms which would almost excuse defeat, it should not be forgotten that any calculation at variance with the ordinary course of events, is no less dangerous in public than in private life. The man who risks his whole fortune upon a circumstance, which can only occur by an important deviation from the usual stream of human affairs, is not more an object of censure, than a commander, who with an army of

<sup>9</sup> p. cxli, and p. cxlii, *note*



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less than nine thousand men, should expect to pass unmolested one hundred miles through an enemy's country, when he must have known that every individual capable of bearing arms had been collecting for several weeks, purposely to oppose his progress. Unprecedented intrepidity, may therefore with great truth be ascribed to Henry; but he can have no claim to the praise of having upon this occasion, acted like a wise or a prudent general.

After causing Harfleur to be put into a state of defence, by repairing the effects of the siege, and having garrisoned it with a sufficient number of men, the king prepared for his departure.<sup>r</sup> Among those who returned with the sick to England, were, according to Walsyngham, the duke of Clarence, the earl Marshal, the earl of Arundel, the earl of March who was ill of the dysentery, and the earl of Warwick ;<sup>s</sup> and it is said by St. Remy, that the lords de Gaucourt, and de Hacquevill, and the rest of the prisoners, together

<sup>r</sup> p. cxxxix

<sup>s</sup> p. cxl, note x

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with the plunder of the town, were also embarked for England, on board the ship that brought Henry to Normandy ;<sup>a</sup> but if the other writers may be believed, the prisoners were permitted to go at large on their parole.<sup>†</sup>

It is uncertain upon what day Henry proceeded on his perilous journey, but for the reasons stated in the note to a former page,<sup>a</sup> it would appear that it was about the 8th of October. His army which was drawn up in three lines with two wings, was commanded to take with them sufficient food for eight days ; and from the testimony of the majority of the chroniclers, corroborated by some other circumstances, it seems that he took the route towards Fecamp, passing about half a mile to the right of the town of Monstre de Villiers, and thence along the sea coast to the river Somme. But one of the French writers, upon

<sup>a</sup> p. cxi note x.

<sup>†</sup> See p. cxxxv.

<sup>a</sup> p. cxi text, and note b. Besides the arguments there adduced, we find the chronicler in the text speaking on the 14th, of the effects to be dreaded when the eight days provisions, which the army had brought with them from Harfleur were consumed. See p. clix

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whose assertion in this instance, however, no reliance can be placed, attributes an entirely different route to the English army, by saying that it advanced towards Gurnay and Amiens.<sup>v</sup> Before describing Henry's march, it must be observed, that he is said to have caused all the baggage of the army to have been carried on horseback, but that all the heavy articles, carriages, &c. were left at Harfleur.<sup>w</sup> From motives as much perhaps, of policy as humanity, he issued a proclamation forbidding his people under pain of death from committing any species of devastation, or from plundering the inhabitants of their property, excepting articles of food, and other necessities, unless they attempted to impede them. A convenient opportunity is here afforded for noticing the circumstance of the chronicler in the text always speaking of the French as the natural subjects of Henry. Not contented with considering France as belonging to the

<sup>v</sup> p. clxiii, note <sup>b</sup>.

<sup>w</sup> p. cxliv, note <sup>d</sup>.

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crown of England, he describes their resistance to the invasion as an act of rebellion ; and the sacred term "justice," is upon every occasion polluted by being applied to the pretensions, as well as to the acts of aggressions arising from those pretensions, of his sovereign.

We have no information of the day upon which the English reached Fecamp, but it appears that both there and near Monstre de Villiers, which place they must have passed on the day they quitted Harfleur, they met with some opposition ; as in the list of the men at arms who were at Agincourt, a lancer is stated to have been killed before Monstre de Villiers,\* and another to have been taken prisoner at Fecamp.†

The next notice, in point of time, which occurs of the expedition, is on Friday, the 11th of October, when it arrived at Arques, a small town to the southward of Dieppe. Its route we are told was within gun-shot of the castle of Arques, and Henry accordingly prepared

\* Geoffrey Blake, p. 67.    † William Branshulff, p. 66.

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for hostile operations, by taking up a position against that fortress, and appeared in person among his troops. A few shots were fired at them without doing any mischief, and a message was sent to the governor of the town, demanding a free passage and a supply of bread and wine for the army. A treaty to that effect was entered into; and Henry's terms were granted, in order to redeem the town and its vicinity from the flames, with which it may be inferred it was threatened.\* The English then marched through the town, which they found fortified at the entrance by thick trees being thrown across the road.

It is now requisite to say a few words upon the means adopted by the French government to impede the progress of the invaders. The irresolution which characterized its councils, has been attributed to the mental incapacity of the king, the youth of the dauphin, and the rivalry and dissensions which existed between two powerful

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\* p. cxliv-cxlv.



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factions in that country. To these circumstances, the necessary consequences of which were a disorganized military force, and a misapplication of the small body which in a moment of exigency could be suddenly called into the field, the English unquestionably owed their success at Harfleur. The length of the siege however gave the French time to collect part of their resources; and, perhaps, lulled into a mistaken security by the havoc which disease had made among their enemies, it might not have been thought necessary to adopt any extraordinary precautions for the defence of their territory, into which it was beyond every rational speculation to suppose, that with so contemptible a force, Henry could have meditated any farther inroad. But no sooner were they aware of his daring resolution than, as if his army had been quintupled by the mere hardihood of its leader, the supineness of the French gave place to the most energetic measures.

One common cause, one common

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feeling animated all hearts in that kingdom. Princes and men at arms, esquires and archers, peasants and trades-people, alike rushed to the royal standard; and never did that sacred patriotism, for which the French are so eminently distinguished, burn in a nobler cause.

It was deliberated and resolved in the French council, that Henry should be attacked on his march; and the confidence which they are said to have entertained of the result of the conflict, was fully justified by every circumstance which guides mankind in forming their judgments. The number of the army which assembled will be noticed hereafter; and before resuming the account of Henry's march, it is only requisite to state, that agreeably to Titus Livius and some other authorities, a body of French troops retreated before him, destroying and laying waste the country through which he had to pass, but that the English were spontaneously supplied with refreshments by the pea-

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santry;<sup>a</sup> a statement not only rendered doubtful by the assertion of a French chronicler, that they committed innumerable cruelties on their route,<sup>b</sup> but by its great improbability. On Saturday the 12th of October, Henry passed about half a mile from Eu, where a part of the French army was quartered, who sallied upon the English in great numbers and with loud shouts; but they were repulsed "with the speed of lightning,"<sup>c</sup> after some loss on both sides;<sup>d</sup> and the death of a valiant Frenchman in the rencontre, named Lancelot Pierres, is detailed with great minuteness. A treaty, similar to that entered into at Arques, was the same evening agreed to between the king and the inhabitants of Eu, and the army again received some refreshments. That night was passed in the villages, in the vicinity of the town; and there the English first received intimation from some prisoners, that they were to be positively engaged by the whole

<sup>a</sup> p. cxliv note d.

<sup>b</sup> p. clxiii, note a

<sup>c</sup> p. cxlvi, note g.

<sup>d</sup> p. cxlv

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of the French army,<sup>e</sup> either on the next, or the succeeding day, during their passage of the river Somme. This information was, however, not implicitly believed; for some argued, that the French could not summon their forces from the interior, from the fear of the duke of Burgundy; whilst others more rationally inferred, that the ancient military renown of France must be totally extinct before an enemy's army, of such contemptible numbers, would be allowed quietly to pass through that kingdom.

Undismayed by these reports, and possibly deeming that it would be even more dangerous to retrace his steps than to advance, Henry proceeded on his route; and the next day, Sunday the 13th of October, reached Abbeville, with the intention of crossing the Somme at Blanchetache, where Edward the Third had passed; but to his great disappointment, his scouts and advanced guard of cavalry informed him that the bridges had been all broken down, and that a

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great part of the French army were collected on the opposite banks of the river to prevent his passage.<sup>f</sup> It appears from St. Remy, that when Henry came within two leagues of Blanchetache, his advanced guard took one of the retinue of the constable of France, prisoner; and to him, whom that writer says, many of his countrymen called "a devil," is attributed the subsequent disaster of their army, because he falsely assured the English that the passage at Blanchetache was defended by many noblemen with six thousand good fighting men. This intelligence having been communicated to the king, he caused the prisoner to be brought into his presence; and having in reply to his questions repeated the same statement, a council was assembled to deliberate upon the subject. After two hours debate, it was resolved that the army should proceed by another route; and it accordingly marched higher up

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<sup>f</sup> p. clxix.



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the Somme, with the expectation of finding a passage across it.<sup>g</sup>

The situation of the English army at that moment, is described by the chronicler in the text<sup>h</sup> as being truly deplorable. Besides the obstacles which existed to their crossing the Somme, and the constant appearance of the enemy on the opposite banks, in numbers infinitely superior to their own, as well as the report that they were to be engaged at the first convenient opportunity, they were apprehensive that when the eight days provisions which they had brought with them were consumed, they should experience the horrors of famine; and still more that on their arrival at the head of the river, the enemy would take advantage of the smallness of their forces, their exhaustion from the march, and their want of food, by attacking and annihilating them. Consistently with the duties of his profession, the chronicler alluded to says, that he and others implored the mercy of heaven, and especial-

<sup>g</sup> p. cl, note

<sup>h</sup> p. cliv, cl v, cliv

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ly the protection of England's tutelar saint, to save them from the imminent perils by which they were surrounded, and enable them to reach Calais in safety. On Monday the 14th, Henry passed Amiens at the distance of about a league; and on the following day reached the village of Boves, which we are told then belonged to the duke of Burgundy, and contained a castle, under which the army were obliged to pass exposed to the enemy's shot. A parley was however held with the garrison, and hostages were given to the English, that they should be allowed to proceed unmolested, provided that no damage was done to the houses and vineyards.<sup>l</sup> The army slept that night at Boves, and found such an abundance of wine, that the king was obliged to adopt measures to prevent his people from indulging in excess.<sup>k</sup> Having received the little bread which the place afforded, and left two gentlemen of his army who were ill, to the care of the captain of the fortress,<sup>l</sup> they quitted it on the next

<sup>l</sup> p. c. iv.

<sup>k</sup> p. cli. note

<sup>l</sup> Ibid.

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day ; and on Thursday the 17th of October, reached a plain near Corby. In that town part of the French army had assembled, who sallied upon the English ; but after a spirited contest<sup>m</sup> they were defeated with loss, and obliged to retire.<sup>n</sup> On this occasion John Bromley, an English esquire, and a groom of the king's chamber,<sup>o</sup> so particularly distinguished himself by recovering the standard of Guienne, which had been captured, that he was allowed to bear it for his crest, as a perpetual memorial of his valour ; and two years afterwards he received a grant of an annuity for his services, from sir Hugh Stafford, knight, lord Bouchier.<sup>p</sup> At Corby Henry supported the discipline of his army, by carrying into execution the punishment denounced in his proclamation against robbery and sacrilege.<sup>q</sup> One of his soldiers was discovered to have stolen a pix of copper gilt from a church in the neighbourhood, under the idea that it

<sup>m</sup> p. lviii note.    <sup>n</sup> p. clv and clvi.    <sup>o</sup> p. 45 *infra*.  
<sup>p</sup> pp. clvi-clvii notes.    <sup>q</sup> p. cxv.

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was gold, which he concealed in his sleeve; and on the army reaching the village where it took up its quarters for the ensuing night, the culprit was immediately hung.<sup>r</sup> But according to another writer, the moment the theft was discovered, Henry ordered them to halt; and having caused the sacred vessel to be restored, the offender was led bound through the host as a thief, and then hung on a tree, so that he might be seen as an example to the whole army.<sup>s</sup>

A report was about that time circulated, upon the information of some prisoners, that the French had appointed several troops of horse to break through the lines of the English archers, upon which the king, with great judgment, issued the celebrated order that so mainly contributed to his success, by commanding that each archer should provide himself with a stake six feet in length, sharpened at each end; and that when attacked by the cavalry, he should place the pole before him, sloping towards the

<sup>r</sup> pp. clxvj-clix

<sup>s</sup> p. clix note.

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enemy, so as to form a kind of chevaux de frise <sup>t</sup>

On the day after they quitted Corby, they passed close to Neele, and were quartered in farm houses in its neighbourhood," according to a French historian, Henry was received there with great respect; as he says, the walls of the town were hung with scarlet stuffs;<sup>v</sup> but a very different, and much more probable report, is however given by the chronicler in the text, who informs us, that on approaching it, the king sent to them to redeem their houses from destruction; but that being refused, he ordered them to be destroyed by setting fire to their premises the following morning, and that he was only diverted from his design, by being informed that a passage over the Somme had at length been discovered." During the whole period of Henry's march, it appears the French contented themselves with proceeding before him, and guarding the passages of the Somme; having, it may be inferred, adopted the

<sup>t</sup> p. clxi

<sup>u</sup> p. clxi.

<sup>v</sup> p. cli note.

<sup>w</sup> p. clxi



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judicious policy of allowing the English army to weaken itself by fatigue, hunger, and disappointment. It was indispensable that the English should cross that river, for to retreat to Harfleur, after the proud line of conduct which Henry had adopted, would not only cover him with dishonour; but it would be scarcely less dangerous than to advance, for his ships had returned to England. Thus unless he could have reached Harfleur in safety; and, if he had succeeded in that object, unless he could likewise have sustained a siege against the united force of the whole French army, points which were excessively hazardous if not impossible, he had no choice, but was obliged to force his way to Calais at all hazards.

In the mean time, sir William Bardolf, lieutenant of Calais, having intimation of the king's danger, sent part of the garrison of that place, to the number of three hundred men at arms, to his assistance; but they were entirely defeated on their march, and were either

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slain or made prisoners, by the inhabitants of Picardy.<sup>z</sup>

The moment Henry received the gratifying news that a passage over the Somme had been found, he sent forward an advanced guard of horse to try the ford and the velocity of the current, and immediately followed with the main body. On that occasion he was placed in a situation of the utmost peril; for in approaching the Somme, he crossed a marsh, through which a small rivulet descended into it, and was thus shut up in a kind of corner between the two rivers; though fortunately without the enemy being aware of the circumstance.<sup>y</sup> Upon arriving at the place to which he had been directed, he found two fords, neither of which was deeper than a horses belly. The approach to them was through two narrow causeways, which the French had cautiously destroyed, so that it was difficult to ride through the breaks. Sir John Cornwall, and sir Gilbert Umfreville, with a de-

<sup>z</sup> p. clii note

<sup>y</sup> p. cxlii.

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tachment consisting of lancers on foot and archers, were instantly sent across for the purpose of protecting the others, and Henry proceeded to adopt the most vigorous measures for the passage of his army. This scene is described with great minuteness by the chronicler in the text, and by St. Remy; and it appears that nothing could have surpassed the personal exertions of the king. The baggage was ordered to be conveyed over one of the fords, and the men crossed by the other; whilst his majesty placed himself at the entrance, with the view of preserving order by his presence, so as to prevent them from crowding on each other, and blocking up the passage.\* The French writer who says he was present, states that the army passed the river on a bridge, which they had made of the doors and windows belonging to the houses in the neighbourhood; and that when nearly all the men had crossed, the horses were taken over.†

\* p. clxiv.

† p. clxvi note, and p. clxxxix note.

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sons had reached the opposite banks, a body of French horse, which had been appointed to prevent their passage, marched towards them: they were immediately met by the English advanced guard of cavalry, by which time a great part of the army had forded the river and had taken up so strong a position, that the enemy halted; and after a short consultation retreated out of sight.<sup>b</sup> It appears that the passage of the Somme did not occupy many hours as it commenced at one o'clock in the afternoon, and they had all crossed by an hour before night fall.<sup>c</sup> Although there is some discrepancy between the different writers of the period, as to the place at which Henry effected this important object, there can be little doubt that it took place on Saturday, the 19th of October, from the banks in the immediate vicinity of Nesle; and which is further corroborated by the statement that the English army passed the night

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<sup>b</sup> p. clxv.

<sup>c</sup> p. clxv.

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in some farm-houses near the village of Athies.<sup>d</sup>

When the immense force of the French is considered, it is not a little extraordinary that the English army should have been suffered to pass the Somme unmolested. It probably arose from the contemptible opinion which their adversaries entertained of their numbers; though one writer attributes it to the negligence of the division which had been specially appointed to prevent it;<sup>e</sup> and it may be inferred with great confidence that the French relied upon annihilating them in a regular battle, whenever they pleased, after they had effected the passage of that river. The joy of the English, at having surmounted the obstacle which had so long impeded their march, as well as their hopes that the French army would not attack them, were however but of short duration.<sup>f</sup> On the following day, Sunday, October 20th, three heralds arrived from the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, to ac-

<sup>d</sup> p. clxvi note.

<sup>e</sup> p. clxvi note.

<sup>f</sup> p. clxvii.



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quaint Henry with their resolution to fight him before he reached Calais, but "without assigning the day or place," says the English chronicler in the text;<sup>5</sup> whilst the chronicle of Des Ursins affirms, that they appointed the ensuing Saturday, and that Henry was much rejoiced at the information." The interview between Henry and the heralds is described in a very interesting manner. They were first brought to the duke of York, and were by him presented to the king, before whom they fell upon their knees, and having received his permission to speak, they delivered their message; to which Henry with a firm countenance replied, that "all would be done according to the will of God." The heralds then inquired by which route he intended to proceed, and were told, by that which led straight to Calais, and that if they attempted to disturb him, it would be at their utmost peril; that although he did not seek them, the fear of them would not induce him to move out of his way,

<sup>5</sup> p. clxxii

<sup>4</sup> p. cxlix note.

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nor would the sight of them cause him to quicken his pace: and he concluded by advising them not to interrupt his march, or to produce such an effusion of human blood. Henry then ordered a hundred gold crowns to be given to them, and they returned to their camp.<sup>1</sup> Such, with a few slight variations, is the account of two English writers of the time; but St. Remy says, that the heralds were not presented to the king, and that he sent two of his own officers at arms to the French camp with a reply, to the same effect as that which has just been related;<sup>2</sup> the former is however by far the most probable statement. As soon as Henry learnt that a battle would inevitably take place, he addressed his army with great tenderness and spirit, and prepared for the combat on the next day; when to his surprise he found no resistance, and proceeded on his journey. On passing at a little to the right of Peronne, some French cavalry advanced

<sup>1</sup> pp. clxvi-clxviii notes.

<sup>2</sup> p. clxix note.

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upon them, with the view of enticing them to pursue them within shot of that fortress; but on the English horse making a stand, they returned to the town. Traces of the French army were plainly discerned immediately after Henry passed Peronne, for they found the roads trodden by them in such a manner, "as if they had gone before in many thousands." This sight naturally discouraged the English; and if we may judge from the pious exclamations of the chronicler in the text, they appealed to heaven, from that despair which seizes on the heart when it feels that nothing short of supernatural aid can avert an impending danger.<sup>m</sup> Perhaps the critical situation in which they were placed is best described by Monsieur Laboureur, who has expressed himself with great candour upon the subject, as he justly considers that nothing but a want of discipline and over confidence in his countrymen, could have saved the English from destruction.<sup>n</sup> On Tuesday, October the 22nd, Henry

<sup>l</sup> p. clxix.

<sup>m</sup> p. clxv.

<sup>n</sup> pp. clxx and clxxi note.

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approached the river Canche, or as it is called by the chronicler just cited, the river of Swords,<sup>a</sup> and the next day he lodged at Bouvieres l'Escaillon; whilst the advanced guard, under the duke of York, took up their quarters at Fienench, the remainder of the army being dispersed in the adjoining villages. The French proceeded before them with great expedition to the town of St. Pol; and on the next day, Thursday the 24th, Henry marched in fine order to Blangy,<sup>p</sup> where he was informed by his scouts, that several thousands of his enemies had collected on the opposite side of the river Canche, about a league to his right. He consequently crossed that river as quickly as possible; and on reaching the summit of a hill, he discovered three columns of the French issue from the upper part of the valley about a mile from them, and form in order of battle at little more than the distance of half a mile from his forces, but separated from them by a small valley.<sup>q</sup> Such are the facts which

<sup>a</sup> p. clxxii    <sup>p</sup> Ibid. note c.    <sup>q</sup> pp. clxx i, clxx ii, clxxiv.

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are to be deduced from the various contemporary writers who have been quoted; but some minute details are given by a few of them which are either partially contradicted, or wholly omitted by others. Titus Livius, for instance, says, that the French defended the bridge over which the army crossed the river Canche, and that it was not gained without a severe contest;<sup>r</sup> whilst Elmham asserts, that when the English came to it, the French were busily occupied in breaking it to pieces; and he then gives a very particular relation of the manner in which the duke of York became acquainted with the presence of the enemy.<sup>s</sup> St. Remy, who declares that he was present with the English, informs us, that the sight of the enemy on the Thursday, had such an effect on them, that they fell on their knees, clasped their hands together, and implored the Almighty to take them into his protection.<sup>t</sup> These are however so unimportant, that it is merely necessary to refer to the pages in which they

<sup>r</sup> p. clxxiii, note.    <sup>s</sup> See p. clxxiv, note    <sup>t</sup> p. clxxv, note.



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are inserted in this work ; but there are some discrepancies between Monsieur Laboureur's account of the position and state of the French army, and that of almost every other writer, which cannot be allowed to pass unnoticed. That historian, and in which he is to some extent supported by Pierre de Fenin,<sup>a</sup> considers that instead of the French army having preceded Henry in his march, it closely pursued him ; and so positively does he speak of the French having followed the English, that he assigns the order to abandon the pursuit of them, as one cause of their not having been completely destroyed. He then states, that the French forces consisted of *canaille* and vagabonds, who committed even greater ravages than the English ; that so confident was the government of success, that when six thousand citizens of Paris joined the camp, one of the duke of Berry's suite ridiculed the idea of their being useful, by exclaiming, " What do we want of the assistance of

<sup>a</sup> p. clxvi note.

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~~these~~ shopkeepers, for we are three times as many as the English?" But these statements are at least suspicious, from the manifest errors that occur in other parts of his narrative; for, in speaking of the English, he says, they proceeded from Harfleur, through Gournay and Beauvoises twenty-two leagues from the sea, and that it was not until they had been four days on their march, that they took the road to Amiens, when it has, it is presumed, been proved that the English marched by a totally different route. Laboureur's description of the pitiable condition of the invaders, from hunger and other privations, stands however upon a better foundation; for if it be not directly confirmed, it is at least hinted at by the English chroniclers who were present.

The menacing attitude of the French on the day before the conflict, induced Henry to prepare for action, by drawing up his army in battle array: and so sure were they of being instantly engaged, that after having made the

<sup>v</sup> pp. clxx note, and clxxi note.

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necessary arrangements, they directed their thoughts to religious offices; and each was so eager to cleanse his conscience by a confession of his sins, that we are told they experienced no other want in their camp, than of priests.\* Henry's intrepid spirit displayed itself upon this occasion in a very characteristic manner. On lord Hungerford's regretting in his presence that they had not with them ten thousand of those English archers who were desirous of being there, the king rebuked him for so vain a wish, by saying, that he would not even by one person that his forces should be increased, and that if it was the pleasure of the Almighty, few as were his followers, they were sufficient to chastise the pride of the enemy;† and other writers‡ affirm, that he exhorted them with the utmost courage and cheerfulness, to behave worthy of themselves and of their country. His expectations of being attacked on that day were how-

\* pp. clxxiii-clxxvi.

† p. clxxvii, see note also.

‡ p. clxxiv note

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ever erroneous, for the night closed in without any hostile movement against him; but having narrowly examined the English camp, the French troops entered a plain beyond a wood on their left, between the two armies, on the route to Calais. Henry conjecturing either that it was their intention to march round the wood and attack him from that quarter, or to make a circuit of the most distant woods and surround him, instantly posted himself opposite to them. About sun-set the French took up their quarters in the neighbouring orchards and villages,<sup>a</sup> and in doing so made much clamour by each person calling for his servants or comrade, in which they were imitated by the English until the king commanded his men to preserve silence.<sup>a</sup> Henry's object was then to procure lodgings for his people, who were without food and exhausted by their day's march, but none could be found, until "providentially," they were directed by a light to the village of Maisoncelles, where their wants

<sup>a</sup> p. clxxviii, and p. clxxix.

<sup>a</sup> p. clxxxi.

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were better supplied than on any preceding night since they had quitted Harfleur.<sup>b</sup> The French were about a quarter of a mile from them at Agincourt and Ruisseauville,<sup>c</sup> and both armies proceeded to light their fires, and to make the usual arrangements for a bivouack. The night was very rainy, and much inconvenience is said to have been experienced in each camp from wet and cold, accompanied, among the English, by hunger and fatigue.<sup>d</sup> It was passed in a manner strictly consistent with their relative situations. The French, confident in their numbers, occupied the hours not appropriated to sleep, in calculating upon their success; and in full security of a complete victory, played at dice with each other for the disposal of their prisoners, an archer being valued at a blank, and the more important persons in proportion; whilst the English were engaged in preparing their weapons, and in the most solemn acts of religion,<sup>e</sup>

<sup>b</sup> p. clxxv note.      <sup>c</sup> p. clxxxj note, and p. clxxxv note.

<sup>d</sup> p. clxxxii, p. clxxxvi note, and p. clxxxii. note.

<sup>e</sup> p. clxxxiii note, and p. clxxxvi.



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though according to one authority,<sup>r</sup> they continued playing on their musical instruments until dawn, so that the whole neighbourhood resounded with the noise. Monstrelet informs us, that during the night the count of Richmond, by command of the duke of Orleans, advanced with two hundred men at arms close to the English camp, but suspecting that they meant to surprise them, they drew up in order of battle, and a smart skirmish took place. The action did not however last long, and the French retired to their quarters, after which nothing more was attempted until the morning: upon this occasion, it is said the duke of Orleans, and several others received the honor of knighthood.<sup>s</sup> It is now necessary to endeavour to form some estimate of the amount of the French army, though it will be seen that from the contradictory statements on the subject, it is impossible to make an accurate calculation. The following are the assertions of the con-

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<sup>r</sup> Monstrelet, p. clxxxiii note.

<sup>s</sup> p. clxxxiii note.

## The Battle of Agincourt. . . . cccxxxiii

temporary writers, who have been consulted.

THE STATEMENTS OF CONTEMPORARY WRITERS RELATIVE TO THE AMOUNT OF THE FRENCH ARMY AT THE BATTLE OF AGINCOURT.

### English Writers.

Chronicler in the text. <sup>a</sup>	60,000 fighting men.
Ibid. <sup>b</sup>	Thirty times as many as the English.
Otterbourne. <sup>c</sup>	60,000
Chronicler in the <i>Harl. MS</i> 565 <sup>d</sup>	120,000 fighting men.
Ibid. in the Cotton. MS. <i>Cleo-</i> <i>patra</i> , C iv. <sup>d</sup>	60,000 men at arms.
Hardyng. <sup>e</sup>	100,000 fighting men.
Records of the city of Salisbury. <sup>f</sup>	100,000 fighting men.
Lydgate. <sup>g</sup>	Twenty to one Englishman.
Sir William Bardolf. <sup>h</sup>	150 000 or more.
For Elmham and Titus Livius' account, see p. ccxciv.	

### French Writers.

Monstrelet. <sup>i</sup>	150,000 fighting men.
Ibid. <sup>k</sup>	Six times as many as the English.
St. Remy. <sup>l</sup>	50,000 men.
Berry, 1st. herald to Charles VI. <sup>m</sup> and the biographer of the Count of Richmond. <sup>n</sup>	10,000 men at arms.

Pierre de Fenino says, the French were beyond comparison many more than the English.

<sup>a</sup> p. cccxix.

<sup>b</sup> cxc.

<sup>c</sup> p. 276-7.

<sup>d</sup> p. ccxxvii note.

<sup>e</sup> p. ccxxviii note.

<sup>f</sup> ccxxvii note.

<sup>g</sup> p. ccl.

<sup>h</sup> p. clii note<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>i</sup> clxxxiii note.

<sup>k</sup> p. cxevi note.

<sup>l</sup> p. clxxxviii note.

<sup>m</sup> p. ccxiii note.

<sup>n</sup> p. ccxiv note.

<sup>o</sup> p. ccxi note.

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Before taking up his quarters at Maisoncelles, Henry allowed all his prisoners to depart upon their promise to return and surrender themselves should he gain the impending battle; but if he was defeated, they were to be released from their engagements.<sup>b</sup> The chronicler in the text states, that from the great stillness which prevailed throughout the English camp during the night, the enemy imagined they were panick struck and intended to decamp, and they therefore made fires and planted strong guards throughout the plain and passes.<sup>c</sup> About the middle of the night, before the moon had set, Henry sent some persons to examine the field, by whose report he was the better enabled to draw up his army on the next day.<sup>k</sup>

At day-break on Friday the 25th of October, the French arranged their forces in order of battle in three lines, in the plain of Agincourt, through which was the route to Calais. The advanced guard, commanded by the constable, con-

<sup>b</sup> p. clxxxv note.

<sup>i</sup> p. clxxxv.

<sup>k</sup> p. clxxxv note.

## The Battle of Agincourt.....cccxxxv

sisted of infantry,<sup>l</sup> to the number of about eight thousand bacinets, knights, and esquires,<sup>m</sup> four thousand archers, and fifteen hundred cross-bows,<sup>n</sup> and contained the greater part of the French nobility, each of whom eagerly sought this post of honor. The main body, led by the counts of Nevers and Vaudemont, was composed of knights and esquires; and in the rear-guard was placed the remainder of the men at arms, which as well as the wings were wholly formed of cavalry.<sup>o</sup> One wing, commanded by the count de Vendôme, consisting of fifteen hundred men at arms, was ordered to attack the right flank of the English; whilst the other wing, led by the admiral of France, sir Clugnet de Brabant, with eight hundred select men at arms, was to fall on the left flank.<sup>p</sup> As soon as they were thus formed, they seated themselves in companies, as near as possible to their respective banners awaiting the approach of the English,

<sup>l</sup> p. clxxxix

<sup>m</sup> Ibid note.

<sup>n</sup> p. cxv note.

<sup>o</sup> p. exci-excii.

<sup>p</sup> p. p. cxcv, and cxvi note.

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and whilst taking some refreshment they amicably terminated their disputes; and they remained in this situation until between nine and ten o'clock, full of cheerfulness and confidence.<sup>9</sup> With the army was an immense number of wag-gons and carts, together with guns, serpentes, balisters for throwing stones, and other military stores; but it is remarked that they had little music to cheer their spirits, and that during the whole night not one of their horses was heard to neigh, which was deemed an unfavorable omen.<sup>10</sup> Their lines were, according to one writer, thirty-one men deep,<sup>11</sup> though another only states them to have been above twenty men in depth;<sup>12</sup> but they were so much incumbered by the weight of their armour, as to be nearly incapable of moving; for they wore long coats of steel reaching to their knees, which were very heavy; below these was armour for their legs, and above white harness, and bacinets with camails. They

<sup>9</sup> pp. excv-cxvi notes

<sup>10</sup> p. cxvii note

<sup>11</sup> p. clxxxvii note

<sup>12</sup> p. cccvi note



## The Battle of Agincourt. . .cccxxxvii

were drawn up in the most disadvantageous manner, with two sharp fronts like horns, increasing towards the rear,<sup>a</sup> between two woods, the one close to Agincourt, and the other near Tramecourt, in a space wholly inadequate for the movement of such an immense body. This inconvenience was much increased by the state of the ground, which was not only soft from the heavy rains that had inundated it, but by their horses having trampled it during the preceding night; the weather having obliged the valets and pages to keep them in motion.<sup>v</sup> Thus we may readily credit the statement of French historians, that from the ponderous armour with which the men at arms were enveloped, and the softness of the ground, it was with the utmost difficulty they could either stand or lift their weapons, notwithstanding that their lances had been shortened to enable them to fight closely; whilst the horses at every step sunk into the mud.<sup>w</sup>

<sup>a</sup> p. cxiii note.

<sup>v</sup> p. cxi note.

<sup>w</sup> p. cxi note.

# cccxxxviii. . The Battle of Agincourt.

Henry rose with the earliest dawn, and immediately heard three masses.\* He was habited in his "cote d'armes," containing the arms of France and England quarterly, and wore on his bacinet a magnificent crown.<sup>y</sup> Being equipped for action, he mounted a small grey horse,<sup>z</sup> and without commanding the trumpets to sound, ordered his army out of their quarters; and drew them up in order of battle upon a fine plain of young

\* p. cxli and clxxxvi note.

<sup>y</sup> An idea may be formed of the crown worn by Henry at Agincourt, the peculiar magnificence of which is noticed by almost every writer of the time, from the following description and valuation of one which belonged to him, in the list of his effects on the Rolls of Parliament, Vol. iv p. 215, even, which is far from improbable, if it was not the identical diadem in question.

"La Corone d'or pur le Basinet, garniz de iij Baleis, pris cxxxij li vj s viij d—iij Saph', pris le Saph' x li, xl li—iij gros Perles, pris le pec' lx s, cexl li—cxxxviii Perles, pris le pec' x s, lxiiij li—iij Baleis, pris le pec' xij li vj s viij d, lxij li vj s viij d—xvj Saph', pris le pec' iij li, lxiiij li—et l'or pois' vj lb' ds unc', pris le lb' xiiij li, iij li xj s viij d—en tout

vj c lxxix li. v s.

The same list contains several articles which had belonged to the duke of Burbon, and which it is most likely were part of the spoils of the battle.

<sup>z</sup> "A noble horse as white as snow," says Elmham, p. ccv. note; who also states, that several led horses in the richest trappings followed the king.

## The Battle of Agincourt. . . . cccxxxix

corn. The baggage and the sick of the army were left near the village, with ten lances and twenty archers to protect them,<sup>a</sup> and it appears that the priests, who were commanded to put up prayers for his success,<sup>b</sup> were also stationed in the same place; for one of them, to whom we are indebted for the narrative which has been introduced into the text, says he was sitting on horseback with it during the battle, at a short distance in the rear.<sup>c</sup> The English army was formed in one line,<sup>d</sup> with the men at arms in the centre; the main body was led by Henry in person; and the vanguard, which at the particular request of the valiant duke of York was committed to his charge, was placed as a wing to the right; whilst the rear guard commanded by lord Camois, formed a wing on the left. The archers were posted between the wings, in the form of a wedge, with their poles fixed before them.<sup>e</sup> A small party was dispatched, to the rear of the village of

<sup>a</sup> p. clxxxvii note.      <sup>b</sup> p. excvii, and p. ccviii note.

<sup>c</sup> p. ccm.      <sup>d</sup> p. clxxxvii note.      <sup>e</sup> p. cxen.

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Agincourt, but not finding any armed men there, they set fire to a house and barn belonging to the Priory of St. George of Hedin, with the view of alarming the enemy. Two hundred archers were also sent to the rear of the army, with orders to enter the village of Tramecourt secretly, and to remain quietly until the proper time for them to use their bows.<sup>f</sup> The banners borne in the English army were the usual ones of the Trinity,<sup>g</sup> of St. George,<sup>h</sup> of St. Edward,<sup>i</sup> and of the king's own arms,<sup>k</sup> together with those of the principal leaders.<sup>l</sup> To an esquire named Thomas Strickland, was confided the distinguished

<sup>f</sup> p. cxcvi note.

<sup>g</sup> "Gules an orle and pall argent, inscribed with the Trinity in Unity." The centre compartment bears the word *deus*; the three branches of the pall, the word *est*, on the upper angles of the orle, are the words *pater* and *filius*; on the bottom one are the words *sanctus spiritus*, and between each angle on the sides of the orle, the words *non est*.

<sup>h</sup> Argent, a Cross Gules.

<sup>i</sup> Azure, a Cross fretty, between five martlets, Or.

<sup>k</sup> The arms of France and England quarterly. St. Remy speaks of five banners, though he only enumerates four. The fifth was probably the banner of St. Edmund, Azure, three Crowns, Or. See note <sup>b</sup>, p. xlvii.

<sup>l</sup> p. clxxxvii note.

## The Battle of Agincourt. . . . .cccxli

honor of bearing the banner of St. George;<sup>m</sup> and some years afterwards he petitioned Henry the Sixth to be rewarded for his services upon that occasion.<sup>n</sup> No particular account occurs of the banners used in the French army, excepting that, according to many writers,<sup>o</sup> the Oriflamme was then displayed for the last time; but another chronicler<sup>p</sup> states, that it was again assumed by Louis XI. in 1465.<sup>q</sup>

Every thing being thus prepared for the contest, Henry rode through his lines, and addressed them with great spirit and effect. He reminded them that he had entered France to recover his lawful inheritance, to which he had a fair and just claim; that in his quarrel they might safely fight; that they ought to remember they were natives of England,

<sup>m</sup> See p. 41 *infra*.

<sup>n</sup> *Fœdern*, tome x, p. 318.

<sup>o</sup> Tillet, Sponde, Dom Felibien, and P. Simplicien.

<sup>p</sup> A MS. Chronicle, but it is not stated where it exists.

<sup>q</sup> *Henault Nouvel abrégé Chronologique de l'Histoire de France* The Oriflamme was of bright scarlet, with several swallow tails. See a drawing of it by Mons. Willaement, from a picture of Henry Seigneur de Mez, Marshal of France, in the Church of Notre Dame de Chartres.



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where their fathers, mothers, wives, and children then dwelt, to which therefore they should strive to return with fame and glory; that the kings of England, his predecessors, had gained many noble battles over the French; that on that day every one should strive to preserve his own honor, and the honor of the crown of the king of England; and having reminded them that their enemies had boasted they would cut off three fingers from the right hand of every archer they might make prisoner, so that they should never again kill man or horse, he exhorted them to act bravely.<sup>†</sup> His address was received with acclamations, and assurances of attachment;<sup>\*</sup> and after the armies had remained in the same position for some hours, each waiting the advance of the other, a negociation was commenced, with the view of forming a truce, but from which side it emanated does not appear.<sup>‡</sup> Notwithstanding that this circumstance is not expressly noticed by either of the

<sup>†</sup> p. c xxxvii note

<sup>\*</sup> p. cxc note

<sup>‡</sup> p. cxc note.

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English writers, though Titus Livius and Elmham" mention something of the kind which will again be noticed, it is expressly recorded by St. Remy, upon whose narrative so much reliance has been placed. His account carries with it such an appearance of veracity, and the occurrence itself is so consonant both with the customs of the times, and with Henry's situation, that there are no just grounds for disbelieving that it occurred. It was proposed to him, that if he would renounce the title which he pretended to the crown of France, and restore the town of Harfleur, he should be allowed to retain what he held in Guienne, and that which he possessed by ancient conquest in Picardy. His reply, though dictated in the heart of his enemy's kingdom, and when menaced with destruction by an army at least ten times as great as his own, differed very little from the terms which he had offered in his own capital. He told the messengers, that if the king

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of France would yield to him the duchy of Guienne, and five towns which he named that ought to form part of that province, together with the comte of Ponthieu, and give him the princess Katherine in marriage with eight hundred thousand crowns for her jewels and apparel, he would relinquish his title to the French crown. These offers were however rejected; and the persons employed to treat on the subject returned to their respective camps, when, as all hopes of peace had vanished, the preparations for battle were renewed.\* The only communication between the armies mentioned by Titus Livius and Elmham,† which at all supports the preceding statement is that of the former, who relates, that whilst Henry was deliberating whether he should await an attack, a French nobleman called the lord of Hely, who had been a prisoner in England but

† p. cxc note. See also p. ccxii note.

\* p. cxciii, and ccvii note. Elmham merely notices that some French barons came into the king's presence, who were instantly ordered to return to their camp, but it is evident that he considered that they came as spies.

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had made his escape in a dishonorable manner, came to him attended by two others of similar rank and observed, that as he had heard it was said he had quitted him in a way unbecoming a knight, if any person in the English camp dared to reproach him with it, he desired he would prepare for single combat, that he might prove upon him the falsehood of the accusation. Henry replied, that no such combat should then take place, for that another time would be more convenient. He then commanded him to retire to his companions, and to desire them to approach before night arrived; and added, he trusted in God that as he had disregarded the honor of knighthood by escaping from them, he would on that day either be retaken, or have his life ended by the sword. Hely answered, that he would not deliver the message, for his companions were the subjects of the king of France and not of him; and that they would begin the battle at their own pleasure, not at his. 'Depart then to your host,' said Henry,

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‘and whatever speed you may use, shall not be so great but that we will be there before you.’<sup>x</sup>

Orders were immediately given for the army to march towards the enemy, by Henry crying aloud, ‘Advance banners,’ when the venerable sir Thomas de Erpyngham, the commander of the archers, a knight beautifully described by Monstrelet to have grown grey with age and honor, threw his truncheon into the air as a signal to the whole field, exclaiming ‘Now strike;’<sup>a</sup> and loud and repeated shouts testified the readiness with which they obeyed the command. They immediately prostrated themselves to the ground, and besought the protection of the Almighty, when each of them put a small piece of earth into his mouth, in remembrance it has been conjectured, that they were mortal. The moment

<sup>x</sup> p. cxviii note.      <sup>y</sup> p. ccxxix note, and cxviii note.

<sup>z</sup> p. ccxvi note.

<sup>a</sup> Monstrelet says that the words were “Nestroque,” which Dr. Mayrick considers to have been a corruption of the English expression, “Now strike,” an expression used by the marshal of an army after finishing his duty of arranging it for battle.



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<sup>c</sup> p. cxvii note.

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after this singular ceremony, they proceeded in three lines on the French army;<sup>b</sup> the constable of which, on seeing them approach, earnestly admonished his men to confess their sins with sincere penitence, and to fight bravely.<sup>c</sup> It would appear from some circumstances which took place during the battle, that Henry had dismounted from his horse at the commencement of the attack, and that he shared the dangers of the day, in common with his humblest soldier. The battle commenced some time after noon,<sup>d</sup> by the English archers shooting their arrows as soon as they could reach the enemy, and much execution was done among them before the combatants closed. The division of cavalry that had been appointed to break through the English

<sup>b</sup> p. cxclii note.

<sup>c</sup> p. cxcvii note

<sup>d</sup> p. cxcliii. The *Chronicle des Ursins*, however states that the battle began at 8 A M. (p. ccxii,) and which is partially corroborated by the anonymous chronicler (cited in p. cccxxix,) speaking of the hour of "prime," but independently of the remark of the chronicler in the text, that "a great part of the day had been spent in delay," p. cxcliii, it is obvious from every other writer, that much time had elapsed before Henry commenced the attack, more especially if a negotiation previously took place



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archers now attacked them, but their efforts were frustrated by the archers placing their pointed stakes before them; and the French horses being infuriated by wounds from the arrows, became unmanageable, great part of them rolling on the ground from pain, whilst the others fled at the utmost speed upon the van, and threw it into confusion. Of this fortunate circumstance Henry took instant advantage, by causing his men to advance upon them with the greatest celerity, at which moment the flanks of both armies immersed into the woods on each side; but the French divided themselves into three troops, and furiously charged the English line in the three places where the standards were placed. For a short period the English gave way, but quickly recovering themselves, they repulsed their assailants with tremendous loss.\* The conflict was then very severe, and as soon as the English archers had exhausted their arrows, they threw aside their bows and fought with

\* pp. ccvi-ccxv, ccix note, cxviii note, cxlvii note.

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overwhelming impetuosity with their swords, bill-hooks, and hatchets, slaying all before them.<sup>f</sup> Thus in the van of the French army a dreadful slaughter took place; and the assailants speedily reached the second line, which was posted in the rear of the first. For a time the English met with a spirited opposition, but the confusion which principally produced the defeat of the van, now extended to this division; and those immense numbers upon which they had placed such reliance, became the chief cause of their destruction. Standing upon soft ground, and being heavily armed without sufficient room to move, they necessarily impeded each other; and as they were totally unable to offer any material resistance, they fell victims, not so much to the valour of their enemies, as to the unfortunate situation and circumstances in which they were placed.<sup>g</sup> The chronicler in the text observes, though he is not candid enough to explain the reason, that there was no example in history of so fine

<sup>f</sup> pp. ccxv-ccxvi.

<sup>g</sup> p. ccxvii note.

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a body of men having made so disorderly, so cowardly, or so unmanly a resistance; that they seemed seized with a sort of panic; that many noblemen surrendered themselves more than ten times during the day, but that no one had leisure to make prisoners; and that they were all consequently pressed to the ground and put to death without exception, either by those who had overcome them, or by those who followed.<sup>b</sup> Duke Anthony of Brabant nobly endeavoured to resist the torrent, but he was speedily slain; and the fate of the second division of the French army was no longer doubtful. The rear division, seeing what had befallen their companions, took to flight, leaving only the chief leaders on the field;<sup>c</sup> and such of the French as survived the conflict were made prisoners. Just as the success of the English became manifest, a report reached Henry that a body of the enemy had rallied, and was attacking his rear; and perceiving that several parties

<sup>b</sup> pp. ccxxi-ccxxii.

<sup>c</sup> p. cxviii note.

<sup>k</sup> p. cxci note.

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of the enemy were assembling on different parts of the field, necessity obliged him to adopt a measure which has few parallels in modern warfare, by commanding an indiscriminate massacre of his numerous captives.<sup>1</sup> At this fact human nature recoils, and nothing but the most urgent motives of self preservation can prevent us from deeming it an act of barbarous atrocity ; but that such necessity did exist, is not even questioned by the French writers themselves : nor is it too much to believe that Henry had recourse to it with repugnance. St. Remy in stating the circumstance, says, that when the order was issued that every man should kill his prisoner, they refused to obey it ; not however from humanity, but from an unwillingness to lose the benefit of their ransom, as the greater part were persons of distinction. The king consequently selected an esquire and two hundred archers to perform the horrible office, who obeyed his commands in a manner which he describes as being

<sup>1</sup> pp cxcix note, cxxiii cxxv.

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‘a fearful sight to see.’<sup>m</sup> Few were spared excepting the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, and some other illustrious noblemen who were attached to the person of the king of France.<sup>n</sup> As soon as the parties of the French army, to whom for having been the cause of this carnage, that writer applies the most opprobrious epithets, discovered that the English were ready to receive them, they took to flight; and such among them as were not mounted, were speedily put to death. Among the many instances of heroism that occurred during the battle, Henry’s conduct is particularly mentioned. The duke of York having been wounded and struck to the ground by the duke of Alençon, whose gallantry is highly extolled, Henry rushed forward to his assistance, and as he was stooping to raise him, Alençon gave him a blow on his bacinet which struck off a part of his crown, but being surrounded by the king’s guards he found himself in the utmost danger, and lifting up his arm

<sup>m</sup> p. ccxix note.

<sup>n</sup> p. ccxxv



### The Battle of Agincourt. . .cccliii

cried out, "I am the duke of Alençon, and I yield myself to you," but whilst the king was extending his hand to receive his pledge, that distinguished nobleman was slain.<sup>o</sup> St. Remy however relates, that the blow which struck off part of Henry's crown, was given by one of a body of eighteen knights, who had sworn that they would force themselves sufficiently near to where the king of England fought, to strike the royal diadem from his head, or that they would die in the attempt; a vow which was literally fulfilled, for though one of them with his axe struck a point from the crown, they were all cut to pieces.<sup>p</sup> The fact is also noticed by Elmham, who says that it was the duke of Gloucester to whose aid the king hastened; and adds, that even if he had been of inferior rank the extraordinary valour which he displayed would have ensured him distinction above all other persons.<sup>q</sup> The English archers, to whose gallantry the victory may be chiefly

<sup>o</sup> p. cci note.

<sup>p</sup> p. clxxxvi note.

<sup>q</sup> p. ccix note.

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attributed, wore very little armour : they were habited in jackets, and had their hosen loose, with hatchets or swords hanging from their girdles, whilst many were barefooted and without hats.\*

The battle lasted about three hours : the slaughter on the part of the French was appalling, and cannot be more forcibly described than in the words of the chronicler in the text, who informs us, that when some of the enemy were slain, those behind pressed over their bodies, so that the living fell over the dead, and others again falling on the living, they were immediately put to death ; and in three places so large was the pile of corpses, and of those who were thrown upon them, that the English stood on the heaps, which exceeded a man's height, and butchered their adversaries below with their swords and axes ! This horrible picture needs no comment to convey to the imagination the impetuosity with which the English fought, or the manner in which the im-

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\* p. cxcvii note.

† p. ccxv note.

### **The Battle of Agincourt. . . . ccclv**

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mense body of the French fell, almost passive victims, to their fury. Nor can the numerical inferiority of the English be deemed even in the slightest shape, to impeach the courage of their enemies; for what resistance could be offered to the attack of even a small body of men, the natural bravery of whom was increased to desperation, by an army whose powers of action were absolutely paralyzed? When such a mass is thrown into confusion, and before it has time to rally, it is attacked in a manner similar to that by the English army at Agincourt, what other result can be expected, than that the assailants will on their part gain a bloodless victory, whilst the objects of their vengeance are butchered like so many sheep, unresisting because powerless from their very numbers, and the weight of their weapons? Most truly indeed has a French writer observed, that this day proved, that there are some occasions upon which an immense force tends to injure its possessor, rather than those against whom it is

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assembled ; and doubtless it is to the fact that the French had by far too large an army in the field, that its defeat is to be mainly attributed. Of the valour, discipline, and conduct of the "handful" of English no words can do justice, but fortunately no powers of language are required. The event itself is their best eulogy, and when viewed without reference to the injudicious situation chosen by the commander of the French army, their success seems to have been scarcely less than miraculous. Without attempting to take one laurel from the brows of the victors, or wishing even in the remotest shape to lessen the glory of a triumph which has never been surpassed, it may be concluded, that any army, no matter of what extent, would under precisely similar circumstances be again and again annihilated ; that the leaders of the French were alone to blame for the defeat they sustained at Agincourt, not from any want of bravery or skill after it commenced, but for suffering them to be attacked in such a position ;

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and that brilliant as is the event in the English annals, it is in no otherwise humiliating to the French, than as it arose from the want of military caution in the commanders of the period. He therefore who attempts to deduce from that battle an argument of superior prowess on the part of the English, betrays the most consummate ignorance of the real merits of the case, for in all human probability, had the situations of the two armies been reversed, the victory would still have belonged to the inferior number.

The loss of the French, as might be expected, was excessively heavy, and the following are the accounts upon the subject :

### THE STATEMENTS OF CONTEMPORARY WRITERS RELATIVE TO THE LOSS IN THE FRENCH ARMY AT AGINCOURT.

#### French Writers.

Monstrelet.	10,000 of all ranks. <sup>a</sup>
Pierre de Fenin.	3, or 4000. <sup>b</sup>
Berry, First Herald } to Charles VI. }	4600 slain. <sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> p. cci note.

<sup>b</sup> p. ccx note.

<sup>c</sup> p. ccxiv note



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### English Writers.

Chronicles in { 3 dukes, 5 earls, 90 barons and standard  
the text. { bearers, 1500 knights, and 4 or 5000  
other nobles.<sup>d</sup>

Titus Livius, 10,000.<sup>e</sup>

Elinham, between 9 and 10,000.<sup>f</sup>

Anonymous Chronicler { above 11,000.<sup>g</sup>  
in Claudius A viii.

Chronicle of { Slain and taken, 12,000 barons and other  
London, Harl. { people of consequence, and 3000 com-  
MS. 565. { mon people. More than 5000 worthy  
men slain.<sup>h</sup>

Ibid. in Julius B. I. Slain, 5,000.<sup>i</sup>

Records of Salisbury. 4000, besides common men.<sup>k</sup>

Walsyngham, { Dukes, earls, knights and esquires, 4069,  
but the common people were not  
counted.<sup>j</sup>

Otterbourne. { 3 dukes, 6 counts, 92 barons and 1500  
knights killed. 2 dukes, 3 counts, and  
7000 "procerum," taken.<sup>m</sup>

There is not, however, much difficulty in forming a correct estimate of the numbers of the French slain at Agincourt, for if those writers who only state that from three to five thousand were killed, merely meant the men at arms and persons of superior rank, and which is exceedingly probable, we may at once adopt the cal-

<sup>d</sup> pp. ccxxxiii-ccxl.

<sup>e</sup> p. ccxxxviii note.

<sup>f</sup> p. ccx note.

<sup>g</sup> p. ccxxx note.

<sup>h</sup> p. ccxxxiii note.

<sup>i</sup> p. ccxxxii.

<sup>k</sup> p. ccxxxviii.

<sup>j</sup> p. ccxlviii note.

<sup>m</sup> p. 276-7.

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culatation of Monstrelet, Elmham, &c. and estimate the whole loss on the field, at from ten to eleven thousand men. It is worthy of remark how very nearly the different statements on the subject approach to each other, and which can only be explained by the fact that the dead had been carefully numbered.

Among the most illustrious persons slain, were the dukes of Brabant, Barre, and Alençon, five counts, and a still greater proportion of distinguished knights; and the dukes of Orleans, the count of Vendôme, who was taken by sir John Cornwall,<sup>t</sup> the marshal Bouciqualt, and numerous other individuals of distinction, whose names are minutely recorded by Monstrelet, were made prisoners.

The loss of the English army has been variously estimated, as will be seen by the annexed

<sup>t</sup> "John Cornewall miles cepit Ludovicum de Bourbon Comitem Vendôme apud bellum de Agincourt, cui Johanni Rex dedit dictum Comit' et financiam suam" *Calend Rot. Patent.* p. 271. See also a notice of some proceedings relative to the ransom of the count on the *Rolls of Parliament*, vol iv, p. 300<sup>b</sup>. See p. ccxxxix note.

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## STATEMENTS OF CONTEMPORARY WRITERS RELATIVE TO THE LOSS OF THE ENGLISH ARMY AT AGINCOURT.

### English Writers.

Elmharn,	100. <sup>a</sup>
Chronicler in the text, about 14. <sup>b</sup>	
Titus Livius,	100. <sup>c</sup>
Chronicle of London, } Harl. MSS. 565, }	23. <sup>d</sup>
Anonymous Chronicler } in Claudius A viii. }	28. <sup>e</sup>
Ibid. in Julius B. I.	5 gentlemen. <sup>f</sup>
Records of Salisbury,	17. <sup>g</sup>

### French Writers.

Monstrelet,	1600 men of all ranks. <sup>h</sup>
Pierre de Fenin,	4 or 500. <sup>i</sup>
Berry, First Herald } to Charles VI. }	3 or 400. <sup>k</sup>
St. Remy,	1600. <sup>l</sup>

The discrepancies respecting the number slain on the part of the victors, form a striking contrast to the accuracy of the account of the loss of their enemies. The English writers vary in their statements from seventeen to one hundred, whilst the French chroniclers assert that from three hundred to sixteen

<sup>a</sup> p. ccx note

<sup>b</sup> p. ccxlii.

<sup>c</sup> p. ccxxxix

<sup>d</sup> p. ccxxxii.

<sup>e</sup> p. ccxxx note.

<sup>f</sup> p. ccxxxiii.

<sup>g</sup> p. ccxxxviii.

<sup>h</sup> p. cc note

<sup>i</sup> p. ccxii note.

<sup>k</sup> p. ccxiv note.

<sup>l</sup> p. ccxix note.

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hundred individuals fell on that occasion. It is most probable that the smallest numbers given both by the English and French chroniclers, referred only to the men at arms and persons of consequence; but still the total mentioned by Elmham and Titus Livius, appears to be an ample proportion of inferior persons. To St. Remy's narrative the greatest respect has been shown throughout this work, from the minuteness of his details and the accuracy of his information; hence, besides the great improbability that the loss of the English was so incredibly small, we are expressly told, both by him and by Monstrelet, that sixteen hundred were slain, so that if we consider that Fenin and Berry only alluded to the men at arms, the accounts of the French writers may be reconciled with each other. To make them agree with the English chroniclers is however impossible, and as no light can be thrown on the subject, it must be left among the many points of history which it is impossible to elucidate.

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The names of the few English who fell at Agincourt which are recorded, are the duke of York, the earl of Suffolk,<sup>a</sup> sir Richard Kighley,<sup>v</sup> David Gamme, esq.<sup>w</sup> Thomas Fitz-Henry,<sup>x</sup> and John de Peniton;<sup>y</sup> and John Garrew was taken prisoner.<sup>z</sup>

During the hottest part of the battle, some men at arms with about six hundred of the country people, attacked the king's baggage, and carried off several articles, among which was a crown, a sword, some jewels and household utensils, a list of part of which is preserved.<sup>a</sup> It was this affair, according to Monstrelet,<sup>b</sup> that produced the lamentable massacre of the French prisoners, Henry having been informed that part of the forces which he believed were assembling to renew the contest, had already attacked his rear, and captured his baggage; and he adds, that the leaders were afterwards severely punished and imprisoned by John duke

<sup>a</sup> p. ccxlii and cxx note.

<sup>v</sup> p. ccxxxii note.

<sup>w</sup> p. ccxxx.ii note

<sup>x</sup> p. 26 *infra*

<sup>y</sup> p. 51 *infra*.

<sup>z</sup> p. 67 *infra*

<sup>a</sup> p. ccii note.

<sup>b</sup> p. cxcix



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of Burgundy, notwithstanding that they presented the sword which they had captured, to the count of Charolois.

Henry being thus left master of the field, asked some of his noblemen the name of a castle which he saw near him, who replied that it was called Agincourt. "Then," said he, "as all battles should bear the name of the nearest fortress to where they occur, this shall for ever be called, **THE BATTLE OF AGINCOURT;**"<sup>c</sup> but Monstrelet says, that he first inquired of Montjoye to whom the victory belonged, who admitted him to be the conqueror.<sup>d</sup> The king remained on the plain for four hours after the battle, by which time it was nearly dusk, when finding that it began to rain and that none of the enemy attempted to molest him, he retired to his quarters at Maisoncelles. The English archers were busily occupied in stripping the dead, under whom they found many prisoners still alive, and among them the duke of Orleans. In the evening they brought several

<sup>c</sup> p. ccxx note.

<sup>d</sup> p. cc note.

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horse loads of armour to Maisoncelles, together with the bodies of the duke of York, and the earl of Suffolk, but when Henry was informed that so much armour had been brought to his quarters, he ordered it to be proclaimed throughout the army, that no one should take more than he wanted for his own person, for that they were not yet beyond the power of the king of France. St. Remy then makes the remarkable observation, that they boiled the bodies of the duke of York and the earl of Suffolk, to enable them to carry their bones to England; and adds that all the armour which had been taken from the field, with the corpses of such of the English as were slain, excepting those two noblemen, were put in a house or barn, and there burnt.<sup>e</sup> At supper the king was attended by the most distinguished of his prisoners,<sup>f</sup> and very early on the next day, Saturday October the 26th. the English quitted Maisoncelles on their route to Calais and passed over

<sup>e</sup> p. ccxx note.

<sup>f</sup> p. ccxxxix.

### The Battle of Agincourt. . . . cccxv

the field of battle, where they found some of the French still living, whom St. Remy coolly says, they either killed or made prisoners. Henry halted on the ground to view the dead, and that writer adds, that he found the slain, consisting of the chief nobility of France, already stripped almost naked<sup>s</sup> Monstrelet states, that their bodies were plundered by the English of their jewels and gold, but that they were stripped of their clothes by the peasantry in the neighbourhood. On the succeeding days, the most important persons who had fallen were raised from the heaps, and having been properly washed, great part were interred in the church of the Friars Minors at Hedin. Others were conveyed by their servants to their own estates, and there buried; but it was not until Philip, count of Charolois, commanded it that the remaining bodies were interred. That individual ordered the abbot of Roussianville, and the bailiff of Aire, to see this sad office performed, who

<sup>s</sup> p. cccxx note, and pp. cccxxvi, cccxxvii, cccxlvii note

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caused a square of twenty-five yards to be measured, in which three trenches were dug, each of the width of twelve feet, in which five thousand eight hundred men were buried. The ground was afterwards consecrated by the bishop of Guines, and was surrounded by a strong hedge of thorns, to prevent wolves and dogs from devouring its contents.<sup>b</sup>

During their journey to Calais, the following anecdote is related by St. Remy.<sup>i</sup> At a place where they rested, Henry caused bread and wine to be brought to him, which he sent to the duke of Orleans; but the French prince would neither eat nor drink. This being reported to the king, he imagined that it arose from dissatisfaction, and therefore went to the duke. "Noble cousin," said Henry, "how are you?"—"Well my lord," answered the duke. "Why then is it," added the king, "that you will neither eat nor drink?" to which Orleans replied, "that truly he had no inclination for food."—"Noble cousin," re-

<sup>b</sup> p. ccxlvii note.

<sup>i</sup> p. 96.

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joined Henry, "be of good heart. I know that God gave me the victory over the French, not that I deserved it, but I fully believe that he wished to punish them; and if what I have heard is true, it is not to be wondered at, for never were there greater disorder, sensuality, sins, and vices seen than now prevail in France, which it is horrible to hear described; and if God is provoked, it is not a subject of surprize, and no one can be astonished at it."<sup>k</sup> Many more conversations are said to have passed between the king and the duke of Orleans, and the commisseration and courtesy of the former to his prisoners, is mentioned by every writer in terms of just praise. The English army proceeded towards Calais in fine order, having their prisoners placed between

<sup>k</sup> *Des Ursus* gives rather a different version of this speech, and the time when it was uttered, for he says, "The king proceeded with his prisoners to Calais, entertained them all at dinner on the following Sunday, and gave each of them a damask robe, and addressed them in a speech, stating that they ought not to be astonished that they had lost the battle, for which he did not take to himself any glory, but that it was the work of God, in punishment of their sins" p. cccxv.



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the advanced guard and the main body ; and the only difference in its appearance since the battle, was that "cotes d'armes" were no longer worn. At Guisnes they were received by the captain of the garrison with great honor, and Henry took up his quarters in the castle of that town. The whole of the army proceeded on its march to Calais, much fatigued, and heavily burthened with the prisoners and baggage, but the king kept the French dukes, counts, and great barons with him at Guisnes.

When the army arrived at Calais, where they expected to obtain that repose and refreshment of which they stood so much in need, for the greater part of them had not tasted bread for eight or ten days, though they had plenty of other provisions, the town's people refused to receive any person, but some English lords. It is therefore, St. Remy observes, easy to imagine that the poor prisoners, many of whom were maimed and wounded, were in great distress. Such was the want of bread, that the

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soldiers and archers cared not what they gave for it, and they consequently sold their baggage and enough of their prisoners to the inhabitants, to obtain money to purchase it; whilst on the other hand, there were many who set their prisoners at ransom and permitted them to depart on their parole; and all seemed wholly indifferent to every thing excepting to procure bread, and to be in England. The moment the king, who was at Guisnes, heard of their situation, he commanded vessels to be procured for their conveyance, in which the army and prisoners embarked: part landed at Dover, and the others at Sandwich, where they were received with great joy. After Henry had passed a few days at Guisnes, he proceeded to Calais, and upon the road used every means to solace and cheer his illustrious captives.<sup>1</sup> Such is St. Remy's narrative, but it is not supported in some points by that of the other writers, neither of whom state that

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<sup>1</sup> St Remy, p. xcv.

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the king remained at Guisnes, that the army preceded him on its march to Calais, that they were refused admittance into the town, that they were in want of bread, or that they were sent to England before Henry quitted France. But they all agree in saying that Henry was joined at Calais by the lord de Gaucourt and other prisoners, whom he had allowed to quit Harfleur on their parole; and Elmhams adds, that he caused a list of his prisoners to be taken, and that he consulted with his principal officers soon after he reached that town, whether he should return home, or attack a French fortress in the neighbourhood, though upon their representations he abandoned the intention, and embarked for England.<sup>m</sup> From the chronicler whose nar-

<sup>m</sup> At Calais the king commanded all the names of the captives to be presented to him that he might have at least a knowledge of them; and whilst there he consulted his nobles, whether in the territories round about Calais, he should endeavour to take by storm the city of Arde or other castles, before the farther dispersion of his army. It was replied and finally concluded that such a miraculous victory, without greater harassing of himself and army, should suffice for his honour at present. To this opinion the king assented, and crossed over into his kingdom of England with a prosperous gale. *Elmhams*. See also *Titus Livius*, p. xxxv.

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rative has formed so large a portion of the text in a former part of this work, and who will again be copiously cited, it seems that Henry reached Calais on Tuesday the 29th of October, the morrow of the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude, and that on the 17th of November he arrived at Dover. Monstrelet<sup>a</sup> however states, that he came to Dover on the 6th of that month, but the former account is corroborated by an anonymous English writer,<sup>o</sup> whilst Walsyngham says that he landed there late on the 16th of November, in a very heavy fall of snow. At Calais, St. Remy informs us, that Henry was received with every demonstration of respect by the captain of the town, who came nearly as far as Guisnes to meet him, accompanied by the priests and clerks dressed in their canonicals, bearing the cross and the banners of all the churches, and singing *Te Deum*

<sup>a</sup> "On the 6th day of November, when king Henry had refreshed his army at Calais, and when those prisoners who at Harfleur had promised to meet him had arrived he embarked for Dover." *Monstrelet*.

<sup>o</sup> Cotton MSS. *Claudius A viii* See *infra*.

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*Laudamus*, the women and children crying, "Welcome the king, our sovereign lord." ' Thus he entered Calais in great triumph, and remained there several days, where he celebrated the feast of All Saints; after which he caused ships to be prepared for his return to England, and which were ready to sail on the 2nd of November, but before his departure, those prisoners who were taken at Harfleur came to surrender themselves to him, according to their engagement.<sup>p</sup>

Notwithstanding the discrepancy in the date of Henry's return to England, there is little doubt that it was on Saturday the 17th of November, that he arrived at Dover. Though the wind was favorable, his passage was extremely boisterous; and the effect of it upon the French noblemen, the most important of whom were in the king's own ship, is described by Monstrelet<sup>q</sup> to have been

<sup>p</sup> p. xvi.

<sup>q</sup> *St. Remy*, p. 96, but *Monstrelet's* account is very different

"The sea on his passage was very rough, so that two vessels full



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so severe, that they considered their sufferings on the day of the battle not to have exceeded what they then experienced; whilst they were much astonished that Henry escaped sickness and appeared as composed as when on land. The storm was so heavy, that two vessels belonging to sir John Cornwall perished in it, with all who were on board, and some other ships containing prisoners were driven into the port of Zerieze in Holland. The king however landed at Dover in safety, and such was

of sir John de Cornewall's men were in great danger; and some of the fleet were driven to different parts in Zealand, but none of them were lost."

"*Elmhams* says, "the princes also, and noblemen whom he had led captive, crossed the sea in the same ship in which he was, according to his own orders, who not accustomed to the motion of the sea, were rendered very sick by its rollings, and wondered that the king could keep himself safe and cheerful, without sickness. He then exclaims, "exult O happy England, rejoice and be glad at the return of thy king, for whose departure thou wast rendered very anxious: cease to be sad. This is he who by his industry renews and augments the ancient fame of thy nobility, covered with the mist of oblivion—who hath constituted thee Queen of Realms, hath exalted thee into the Olympus of praise, hath spread terror on thine enemies, and crowned thee with the glorious laurels of supreme victory. Be glad in the Lord, O England, Britain, who hath provided this most noble prince and monarch of thy realm."

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the affectionate zeal with which the inhabitants, both clergy and laity, welcomed him, that many rushed into the sea with the intention of conveying him on shore in their arms. He remained at that place one day, to enable his prisoners to recover from their voyage, and then proceeded towards London. On his arrival at Canterbury, the archbishop, the abbot, and all the clergy advanced to meet him; and after halting in that city for a short time, continued his journey, and reached Eltham on Friday the 23rd of November, where he slept. The next day he was met at Blackheath by the mayor and citizens of London, by whom he was escorted into the metropolis, where a magnificent pageant was prepared in honor of his reception. This highly interesting scene is so minutely described by the anonymous chronicler, from whose narrative such extensive extracts have been made, that his own words are literally translated.\*

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\* The following extract from a contemporary "Chronicle of London," in the Harl MSS No 565, which has been just

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“On Tuesday, the morrow of  
saints Simon and Jude, he came to

edited by the author of this work, shews the time as well as the manner in which the news of the victory was received in London, whilst that from another contemporary MS, inedited, in the Cottonian collection, corroborates the account of the pageant in the text. Walsyngham, Titus Livius, Monstrelet, and all the other writers, also speak of Henry's reception in similar terms. “And the xxix day of Octobre, the morwe after seynt Simondes day and Jude, the same day the newe meire schulde ryde and taken his charge at Westm', the same day erly in the morwe comen tydynges to London while that men weren in there beddes, that the kyng hadde foughton and hadde the bataille and the feld aforseid. And anon as they hadde tydynges thereof, they wente to alle the chirches in the citee of London and rongon alle the belles of every chirche, and solempnely alle the prestes of every chirche, and othere men that were lettered songen *Te deum Laudamus*, &c. And ayens ix of the helle were warned alle the ordres of relygeous men of the citee of London, for to go a procession fro seynt Poules unto seynt Edward schryne at Westm'. And the newe maire and hise aldermen with alle the craftes of London, and the quen with alle here lordes also wente fro seynt Poules unto Westm', and offred at seynt Edwardes schryne aforesaid or the meire took his charge; and whanne the meire hadde taken his charge, every man come rydyng hom fro Westm' on horsbak, and were joyful and glad for the goode tydynges that they hadde of the kyng, and thankyd oure lord Jhu Crist, his modir seynt Marye, and seynt George and alle the holy company of hevenc, and seyde 'Hic est dies quam fecit d'n's.' Also in this yere, that is to say the xxviij day of Octobre, the kyng com to his town of Caley, and was there til the xvj day of Novembre: and that same day the kyng schipped fro his town of Caley toward Engeland, and he landed the same day at nyght at Dovorr, and com forth alle the woke after toward London: and the Fryday at nyght the kyng come to Eltham, and there he lay al that nyght; and on the morwe was Satyrday, the xxij day of Novembre, the maire of London and alle the aldermen, with alle the craftes of London, reden

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Calais. And on the Saturday after the festival of saint Martin, when the afore-said lord de Gaucourt, and the other captives of Harfieu, had come as they had been bound by covenant, he returned into England with his prisoners through the port of Dover. Neither do our oldest men remember any prince, who ever governed his army throughout an expedition with more labor, vigor, or manfulness, who with his own hand achieved such deeds of arms in the field. Yea, neither is found in chronicles or annals, that any king of England, of whom our ancient writings make mention, ever executed so many deeds in so short a time, and returned home with so

every man in reed, with hodes reed and white, and mette with the kyng on the Blaketh comyng from Elthamward toward his citee of London; and ayens his comyngs was ordeyned moche ryalte in London, that is to weten at London bregge, at the conduyt in Cornhill, at the gret conduyt in Chepe, and at the crosse in Chepe was mad a ryall castell, with angels and virgynes syngyng therinne; and so the kyng and hise prisoners of Frensshmen reden through London unto Westm' to mete, and there the kyng abod stille. And on the morwe after, it was Soneday and the xxiiij day of Novembre, the muire and alle the aldermen, with too hundred of the beste comoners of London, wente to Westm' to the kyng, and present hym with a m<sup>i</sup> pound, in too basynes of gold worth v<sup>e</sup> li."

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great and so glorious a triumph. To the only God be the honour and glory for ever and ever, Amen. And that we may connect what followed, with that which preceded, the king having enjoyed one day's rest in the aforesaid port, proceeded through Canterbury, over the holy thresholds of the churches of that metropolis, and of St. Augustine, to his manor of Eltham; proposing on the following Saturday to honour the city of London with his presence. Now the citizens having heard the most desirable, yea, most delightful reports of his arrival, in the mean time prepared themselves and the city as much as time permitted, for the reception of their most loving and beloved prince, whom God had so magnificently and miraculously of his grace, led back with triumph to his own country from a rebellious and intractable people. And when the wished-for Saturday dawned, the citizens went forth to meet the king, as far as the heights of Blackheath; viz. the mayor



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and xxiiij aldermen in scarlet, and the rest of the inferior citizens in red suits, with party-coloured hoods, red and white, on about xx thousand horses, all of whom according to their crafts, had certain finely contrived devices, which notably distinguished each craft from the other. And when about the tenth hour of day, the king had come through the middle of them, and the citizens had given glory and honour to God, and congratulations and thanks to the king for the victory obtained and for his labours for the state, the citizens advanced forward towards the city, the king following with his own but small retinue. And that the pen may record something of the praise and embellishment of the city, and the splendid entertainments of so many noble citizens, when they had come to the tower at the approach to the bridge, as it were at the entrance to the authorities of the city, there was erected on the top of the tower, a gigantic statue of amazing magnitude, which looking upon the king's face, bore as if

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a champion, a great axe in his right hand, but held in his left, as porter, the keys of the city, hanging on a staff; and at his right side stood a female not much less in size, clad in a scarlet mantle, and a woman's ornaments, as if man and wife, who, arrayed in fine apparel might see the venerated face of their lord, and receive him with full praise. Around them, banners of the royal arms adorned the tower, elevated on the turrets; and trumpets, clarions, and horns, sounded in various melody. And in front there was this elegant and suitable inscription upon the wall, CIVITAS REGIS IUSTICIE, (The city, to the King's righteousness.) And as they proceeded nearer the bridge, there was on each side, a little before it, a lofty column, in imitation of a little tower, no less ingenious than elegant, built of wood, which was covered over with linen cloth, painted the colour of white marble and green jasper, as though of stones squared and cut by a stone cutter. On the top of the right hand column, stood an erect figure

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of an antelope, having a shield with the splendid royal arms suspended from his neck, and holding the royal sceptre extended in his right foot; and on the top of the other column, was an image of a lion, erect, bearing on high in his right claws a staff with the royal standard unfurled.<sup>t</sup> Over the foot of the bridge across the road, was raised a tower, worked and painted like the said columns; in the middle of which, under a splendid pavilion, stood a most beautiful image of saint George, armed, excepting his head, which was adorned with a laurel wreath, studded with pearls, shining with what seemed precious

<sup>t</sup> This account of the supporters of the royal arms is very valuable, for it tends to establish what they really were, a point which has hitherto only rested on conjecture. Mr. Willement, in his *Regal Heraldry*, after noticing every statement he could find on the subject, remarks, "J C Brooke, Somerset Herald, says that Henry the Fifth, when king, bore on the dexter side a lion guardant, on the sinister an antelope: he does not, however, give us his authority for this assertion." p. 33. It appears from the text, that the lion was placed on the right, and the antelope on the left side, which would justify the opinion that such was the position of the animals on the royal achievement, but it is very unlikely that in *that* situation the one held a banner, and the other a shield and sceptre, which were probably introduced into the device in the pageant, merely for effect.

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stones, having behind his back a crimson tapestry, with his arms<sup>u</sup> glittering in a multitude of shields. And on his right, hung his triumphal helmet, and on his left a shield of his arms of suitable size. In his right hand he held the hilt of the sword with which he was girded, and in his left a roll, which extended along the turrets, containing these words, SOLI DEO HONOR ET GLORIA, (To God alone honor and glory.) And this prophetic congratulation was placed in front of the tower, FLUMINIS IMPETUS LETIFICAT CIVITATEM DEI, (The stream of the river gladdens the city of God :) with halberds bearing the king's arms displayed, adorned as above, projecting at the awning and turrets. And in a contiguous house behind the tower, were innumerable boys, representing the angelic host, arrayed in white, and with countenances shining with gold, and glittering wings, and virgin locks, set with precious sprigs of laurel, who at the king's approach, sang with melo-

<sup>u</sup> Argent, a Cross Gules

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dious voices, and with organs, this English anthem,\* \* \* \* \*

\* It is to be regretted that in every instance when the Chronicler alludes to the songs sung in honor of Henry's reception, he should have omitted to give a copy of them, for in each transcript of the MS. an hiatus occurs in the places where they ought to have been inserted. It has however been suggested to the author of this volume, by his friend Frederick Mudden, esq. that the song introduced into Percy's *Ancient Reliques*, was in all probability one of those alluded to, and a copy of it is therefore here given. The music will be found at the end of the volume.

Deo gratias Anglia redde pro victoria!  
Owre kyng went forth to Normandy,  
With grace and myght of chivalry;  
The God for hym wrought marvelously,  
Wherefore Englaunde may calle, and cry

Deo gratias:

Deo gratias Anglia redde pro victoria.

He sette a sege, the sothe for to say,  
To Harfloe tounē with ryal aray;  
That tounē he wan, and made a fray,  
That Fraunce shall rywe tyl domes day.

Deo gratias, &c.

Then went owre kyng, with alle his oste,  
Thorowe Fraunce for all the French hoste;  
He spared 'for' drede of leste, ne most,  
Tyl he come to Agincourt coste.

Deo gratias, &c.

Than for sothe that knyght comely,  
In Agincourt feld he faught manly;  
Thorow grace of God most myghty,  
He had both the felde, and the victory:

Deo gratias, &c.

Ther dukys, and erlys, lorde, and barone,  
Were take, and slayne, and that wel sone,



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And when they were come as far as the tower of the conduit in Cornhill, that tower was found decked with crimson cloth, spread out after the fashion of a tent upon poles covered with the same cloth. The middle of the tower below, was surrounded with the arms of saints George, Edward, Edmund, and of England,\* in four elevated places, with intermediate scutcheons of the royal arms; amongst which was inserted this inscription of pious import, QUONIAM REX SPERAT IN DOMINO ET IN MISERICORDIA ALTISSIMI NON COMMUEBITUR, (Because the king hopeth in the Lord, and in the mercy of the most high, he shall not be moved.) But higher, on the tur-

And some were ledde in to Lundone  
With joye, and merthe, and grete renone  
Deo gratias, &c

Now gracious God, he save oure kynge,  
His peple, and all his well wyllynge,  
Gef him gode lyfe, and gode endynge,  
That we with merth mowe savely synge,  
Deo gratias:  
Deo gratias Anglia redde pro victoria.

[From a MS. in the Pepys collection.]

\* For the description of these, see p. ccxli, and also the engraving of the banners borne at Agincourt

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rets the arms of the royal family were raised for ornament on halberds. Under the pavilion was a company of prophets, of venerable hoariness, dressed in golden coats and mantles, with their heads covered and wrapped in gold and crimson; who, when the king passed by them, came sent forth a great quantity of sparrows and other small birds, as a sacrifice agreeable to God in return for the victory, and of which some alighted on the king's breast, some rested on his shoulders, and some fluttered round about him. And the prophets sang with sweet harmony, bowing to the ground, this psalm of thanksgiving, CANTATE DOMINO CANTICUM NOVUM ALLELUIA. QUIA MIRABILIA FECIT ALLELUIA. SALVAVIT, &c. (Sing unto the Lord a new song, hallelujah! Because he hath done wonders, hallelujah; He hath saved, &c.) Thence they advanced to the tower of the conduit, in the entrance of the street of Cheap, which was hung with a green covering with scutcheons of the city arms, inserted and interwoven in gay

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assemblage upon posts covered with the same colour, resembling a building. And the turrets above the tower were ornamented with halberds of arms, projecting as in the other places, and its middle round about \* \* \*

\* And beneath the covering were men of venerable old age, in apostolic array and number, having the names of the xii apostles written on their foreheads, together with the twelve kings, martyrs and confessors of the succession of England, their loins girded with golden girdles, sceptres in their hands, and crowns on their head, the express emblems of sanctity, who chaunted with one accord at the king's approach, in a sweet tune, as follows \* \* \* \*

And they sent forth upon him, round leaves of silver mixed with wafers, equally thin and round, with wine out of pipes of the conduit, that they might receive him with bread and wine, as Melchisedeck received Abraham, returning with victory from the slaughter of the four kings. Then having pro-

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ceeded further to the cross of Cheap, the cross was not to be seen; but as it were, a very fair castle around it, which, constructed of wood with no less ingenuity than elegance, was ornamented with towers, beautiful columns, and bastions in elegant assemblage; having on each side arches, almost as high as a spear and a half, each of which at one extremity supported the castle, and at the other, extending forth over the street, immersed into the neighbouring buildings, as if it grew out of them; under which, in a sufficiently ample space, to the breadth of one spear's length, the people rode as through two gates. And there was written on the fronts of the gates on each side, GLORIOSA DICTA SUNT DE TE CIVITAS DEI, (Glorious things are spoken of thee, O city of God.) Its covering consisted of a linen awning, and painting of the colours of white marble and of green and crimson jasper, as if the whole had been cemented together of squared and well-polished stones. The arms of saint George

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adorned the summit of the castle and the lower tower, and on one part were the king's arms, and on the other the emperor's,\* on halberds, and the lower turrets had the arms of the royal family, and of the greater peers of the realm. From the middle of the castle towards the king, a fair portal projected, not less ingeniously constructed, from which was extended a wooden bridge, as it were fifteen *stadia* of good breadth, and reaching from the ground to a man's waist, for the purpose of seeing, covered and decked with tapestry, with posts and barriers on each side, ornamentally and securely enough, for avoiding the pressure of the people; and upon this bridge there proceeded out of the castle to meet the king, a chorus of most beautiful virgin girls, elegantly attired in white and virgin dress, singing

\* The arms of the Emperor were Quarterly, 1st and 4th, Argent, an eagle displayed Sable; 2nd and 3rd Gules, a lion rampant Argent, crowned Or. The introduction of these arms in the pageant, probably arose from the marriage between Richard the II. and Ann, daughter of Charles, King of Bohemia. See p. xlvii and note <sup>b</sup>



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with timbrol and dance, as to another David coming from the slaughter of Goliath, who might be supposed to be represented by the haughtiness of the French, this song of congratulation, WELCOME HENRY THE FIFTE, KYNGE OF ENGLOND AND OF FRAUNCE. From the top to the bottom of the castle, in the towers, bastions, and columns, were innumerable boys, as it were the archangelic and angelic multitude, decked with celestial gracefulness, white apparel, shining feathers, virgin locks studded with gems and other resplendent and most elegant array, who sent forth upon the head of the king passing beneath, *minæ*<sup>r</sup> of gold, with boughs of laurel; singing with one accord to the honour of Almighty God, with sweet melody of voice and with organs, this angelic

<sup>r</sup> Over this word, which it is difficult to translate with accuracy, is written in each MS *talenta*. They were probably small pieces of coin, for Lydgate, *infra*, says they

"obles aboughte oure kyng gan throw,"

and that,

"With besaunts riche many a fold

They strowed oure kyng on every syde "

The latter however probably referred to the "round leaves of gold" which were blown upon the king's head.

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hymn, TE DEUM LAUDAMUS, TE DOMINUM CONFITEMUR, &c. (We praise thee O God, we acknowledge thee to be the Lord.) And having come to the tower of the conduit in the going out of Cheap towards saint Paul's, there surrounded that tower about the middle, many artificial pavilions, and in each pavilion was a most beautiful virgin girl, after the manner of an image, decorated with very elegant ornaments of modesty, all of them being crowned with laurel, girt with golden girdles, and having cups of gold in their hands, from which they blew out, with most gentle breath, scarcely perceptible, round leaves of gold upon the king's head, when he passed beneath them. But the tower was covered over with a canopy of the colour of the sky, with clouds interwoven and heaped up with much art; the summit of which was ornamented by the image of an archangel, as if of most lucid gold, with other more brilliant colours, resplendently variegated; and the four posts which supported the

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canopy were borne by four angels, of not inferior workmanship. Beneath the canopy on a throne, was a majestic image representing the sun, that with the shining rays it emitted, glittered above all things; round about which, angels shone with celestial gracefulness, chaunting sweetly, and with all sorts of music. \* \* \* \*

And there ornamented the bastions of the tower \* \* \*<sup>2</sup> projecting on posts. And that the tower in its inscription might seem to conform with the preceding praises of the inscriptions to the honour and glory of God, not of men, it bore to the view of the passengers, this conclusion of praise, DEO GRACIAS, (Thanks to God.) And besides the pressure in the standing-places, and of men crowding through the streets, and the multitude of both sexes looking out of windows and apertures, however narrow, along the way from the bridge, so great was the pressure of the people in Cheap, from one end to the other,

<sup>2</sup> An hiatus in each MS

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that scarcely the horsemen could ride through them. And the lattices and windows on both sides were filled with the more noble ladies and women of the realm, and with honorable and honored men, who flocked together to the pleasing sight, and were so very gracefully and elegantly dressed, in garments of gold, fine linen, and crimson, and various other apparel, that a greater assembly, or a nobler spectacle, was not recollected to have been ever before in London. The king himself, amidst these public expressions of praise, and the bravery of the citizens, passed along clad in a purple robe, not with lofty looks, pompous horses, or great multitude, but with a solid aspect, a reverend demeanour, and a few of his most faithful domestics attendant on him; the said dukes, earls, and marshal, his captives, following him with a guard of soldiers. Even from the taciturnity of his countenance, his unassuming deportment, and sober step, it might be gathered that the king, secretly revolving the

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affair in his breast, rendered thanks  
and glory to God alone, and not to men  
And when he had visited the church of  
the apostles Peter and Paul, he turned  
aside to his palace of Westminster, the  
citizens leading him along."

To this account the following metrical description of the pageant, by Lydgate, which forms the third canto of the poem inserted in former pages, is an interesting addition. The monk's statements so nearly agree with those of the chronicler, that they may be deemed powerfully to corroborate each other.

PASSUS TERCIVS.

And there he restyd verrament,  
At his owne will whilys that it was,  
And shipped thanne in good entent,  
And at Dovorr landyd y ges;  
To Caunterbury full fair he past,  
Aud offered at Seynt Thomas shryne;  
Fro thens sone he rod in hast,  
To Eltham he cam in good tyme.  
*Wot ye right well that thus it was,  
Gloria tibi Trinitas.*



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The Mayr of London was redy bown,  
With alle the craftes of that cite,  
Alle clothyd in red thorough out the town,  
A semely sight it was to se :  
To the Blak heth thanne rod he,  
And spredde the way on every syde ;  
XX<sup>ii</sup> M<sup>i</sup> men myght well se,  
Our comely kyng for to abyde.  
*Wot ye right well, &c.*

The kyng from Eltham sone he cam,  
Hyse presenors with hym dede brynge,  
And to the Blak heth ful sone he cam,  
He saw London withoughte lesyng ;  
Heil, ryall London, seyde oure kyng,  
Crist the kepe evere from care ;  
And thanne gaf it his blessyng,  
And praied to Crist that it well fare.

The Mair hym mette with moche honour,  
With all the aldermen without lesyng ;  
Heil, seyde the Mair, the conquerour,  
The grace of God with the doth spryng ;  
Heil duk, heil prynce, heil comely kyng,  
Most worthiest Lord undir Crist ryall,  
Heil rulere of Remes withoute lettyng.  
Heil flour of knyghts now over all.

Here is come youre citee all,  
Yow to worchepe and to magnyfy, e,  
To welcome yow, bothe gret and small,  
With yow everemore to lyve and dye.  
Grauntmercy Sires, oure kyng gan say ;  
And toward London he gan ride ;  
This was upon seynt Clementys day,  
They wolcomed hym on every syde.

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The lordes of Fraunce, thei gan say then,  
Ingelond is nought as we wen,  
It farith be these Englisshmen,  
As it doth be a swarin of ben ;  
Ingland is like an hive withinne,  
There fleeres makith us full evell to wryng,  
Tho ben there arrowes sharpe and kene,  
Thorughoure harneys they do us styng.

To London brigge, thanne roodoure kyng,  
The processions there they mette hym ryght,  
'Ave Rex Anglor' thei gan syng  
'Flos mundi' thei seyde, Goddys knyght,  
To London brigge whan he com ryght,  
Upon the gate ther stode on hy,  
A gyaunt that was full grym of syght,  
To teche the Frensshmen curtesye.

And at the drawe brigge, that is faste by,  
To toures there were upright ;  
An antelope and a lyon stondyng hym by,  
Above them seynt Georgeoure lady knyght,  
Besyde hym many an angell bright,  
'Benedictus' thei gan synge,  
'Qui venit in nomine domin' goddes knyght,  
'Gracia Dei' with yow doth spryng.

Into London thanne roodoure kyng,  
Full goodly there thei gonnen hym grete ;  
Thorugh out the town thanne gonne they syng,  
For joy and merthe yow behete ;  
Men and women for joye they alle,  
Of his comyng thei weren so fayn,  
That the Condyd bothe grete and smalle,  
Ran wyn ich on as y herde sayn.

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The tour of Cornhill that is so shene,  
I may well say now as y knowe,  
It was full of Patriarkes alle be dene,  
'Cantate' thei songe upon a rowe;  
There bryddes thei gon down throwe,  
An hundred there flewe aboughte oure kyng,  
'Laus ejus' bothe hyghe and lowe  
'In ecclesia sanctorum' thei dyd syng.

Unto the Chepe thanne rood oure kyng;  
To the Condyt whanne he com tho,  
The xij apostelys thei gon syng,  
'Benedict anima domino.'  
XII kynges there were on a rowe,  
They knelyd doun be on asent,  
And obles aboughte oure kyng gau throwe,  
And wolcomyd hym with good entent.

The cros in Chepe verrament,  
It was gret joy it for to beholde;  
It was araied full reverent,  
With a castell right as God wolde,  
With baners brighte beten with gold.  
And angelys senssyd hym that tyde,  
With besaunts riche many a fold,  
They strowed oure kyng on every syde.

Virgynes out of the castell gon glyde,  
For joye of hym they were daunsyng,  
They knelyd a doun alle in that tyde,  
'Nowell' 'Nowell' alle thei gon syng.  
Unto Poules thanne rood oure kyng,  
XIIII bysshopes hym mette there right,  
The grete bellys thanne did they ryng,  
Upon his feet full faire he light.

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And to the heighe auter he went right,  
'Te Deum' for joye thanne thei gon syng;  
And there he offred to God almyght,  
And thanne to Westminster he wente withoute  
dwelllyng.

In xv wakes forsothe, he wroughte al this,  
Conquered Harfleu and Agincourt;  
Crist brynge there soules all to blys,  
That in that day were mort.

Crist that is oure hevene kyng,  
His body and soule save and se;  
Now all Ingelond may say and syng.  
'Blyssyd mote be the Trinite,'  
This jorney have ye herd now alle be dene,  
The date of Crist I wot is was,  
A thousand foure hundred and fyftene.  
*Gloria tibi Trinitas.*

Harflu fert Maurie Augincourt p'lia Crispin.

The history of Henry the fifth's first expedition into France having now been brought to a conclusion, and the particulars of the battle of Agincourt, detailed with as much minuteness as existing materials permitted, little remains to be said but to notice the manner in which that victory appears to have been estimated by those who were contemporary with it.

The preceding account of the

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king's reception into London upon his return, is sufficient proof of the gratitude with which the nation was impressed for the triumphant manner in which he had established the glory of the English name. Warm as was doubtless the admiration of his subjects, that sentiment has been rather increased than lessened by time; for to this hour, the recollection of Agincourt never fails to kindle the most ardent feelings of national pride. To trace a descent from those who fought on that day, is one of the most gratifying objects to all who are interested in the deeds of their ancestors; and many have been so anxious upon this subject, that more individuals are asserted to have shared in the honors of that victory, than could by any possibility have been present.

It would seem that the list in the following pages of those who were at Agincourt, was formed by Henry's express command, with the view of handing down their names to posterity. Truly indeed, has the immortal bard said,



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“This story shall the good man teach his son;  
And Crispin Crispian shall ne’er go by  
From this day to the ending of the world,  
But *they* in it shall be remembered.”

The Roll in question is manifestly incomplete, but so far as it extends, its accuracy may be fully relied upon. As it cannot escape observation, that many names which are constantly associated with the battle, are not to be found in it, for instance, the duke of York and David Gam who according to all historians were there slain, Sir Richard Waller who is said to have captured the duke of Orleans and in consequence to have added the prince’s arms to his crest, John Woodhouse whose reputed gallantry on that occasion has caused his descendants to assume *Agincourt* as their motto, together with some others of whom there are similar traditional anecdotes, it is necessary to explain the omission, lest a doubt should thereby be excited of its authenticity. That the Roll is not perfect is evident, both from its being called a “*parcel* of

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the names of the men that were with the king at Egyncourt,"<sup>a</sup> and from the fact noticed in a former page,<sup>b</sup> that the gross number of men at arms and archers, of which it professes to be composed, was more than double the amount of those who are separately noticed in that list. It is more than probable that the original Roll still exists, for notwithstanding that the labours of the present learned keeper of the Chapter House<sup>c</sup> at Westminster, in which it would in all likelihood be preserved, render it certain that it is not in that repository, it may nevertheless be extant among the records in the Treasury of Accounts of the Receipt of the Exchequer, the contents of which are but partially known. A careful search will however, it is hoped be im-

<sup>a</sup> p. 72.

<sup>b</sup> p. cccxvii.

<sup>c</sup> John Caley, esq. the gentlemen alluded to, has lately discovered a Muster Roll, which was at first supposed to be that of the army which accompanied Henry into France in August, 1415. It is, however, certain from internal evidence, that it was the Muster Roll of a subsequent expedition under that monarch. Many of the names mentioned in the Roll in this work occur therein, and generally in the retinues of the same persons. This very interesting article Mr. Caley intends printing, and which must prove a most acceptable present to every antiquary.

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mediately made for it, for it is disgraceful that a document so identified with the ancient honor and renown of this country, should, by any possibility, be allowed to decay. Thus then it may be fairly argued that those individuals who are generally considered to have been present, but whose names do not occur therein, were entered on that part of which no account has yet been found. But many of the traditions alluded to are at least apocryphal, for all which stands upon the authority of contemporary writers, or which is supported by any thing like evidence, has been carefully noticed; and it will be seen how small a proportion they bear to the instances of individual heroism said to have been performed at Agincourt by Hollingshed, Hall, Drayton, county historians, and other subsequent writers. Much which has been said on this subject may be true, though when family vanity is so deeply concerned, such assertions must be received with suspicion. The plan laid down in this work of attending

### **The Battle of Agincourt. . . . cccci**

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only to narratives written at the period, has fortunately rendered the ungracious task superfluous of scrutinizing into the truth of these flattering statements. The subjoined translation of a writ relative to coat armour, allows of the inference that the king was desirous of rewarding, in an especial manner, those who served under him in the battle; and it was probably with that view that their names were placed upon record; but what other privileges they received have not been ascertained. It is a common error to suppose that every person who was at Agincourt was allowed to assume whatever armorial bearings he pleased, and which may perhaps be traced to Shakspeare having made Henry exclaim,

“For he, to day that sheds his blood with me,  
Shall be my brother; be he ne’er so vile  
This day shall gentle his condition.”

The fact was, that when the king upon the occasion of another expedition in 1417, found it necessary to restrain the assumption of coats of arms, he

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especially excepted such as had borne them at Agincourt; thus making the circumstance of their having used them on that day a sufficient title for their being continued; but he did not create any privilege to others to adopt them in consequence of their services on that occasion.

"The king to the sheriff of Southampton, greeting: Whereas we are informed, divers men, who in our expeditions heretofore made, have taken upon themselves arms and coats of arms, called *coatarmures*, when neither themselves or their ancestors have made use of this sort of arms and coats of arms, in times past, and in our present expedition immediately to be made, (God speeding,) propose to wear them. And although the Almighty disposes his grace as he pleases to mankind, equally to rich and poor, yet willing that each one of our aforesaid subjects, shall be treated and held in due manner, according as his rank requires, We direct you, that in all the places within your bailiwick, where by our writ we lately commanded proclamation to be made for musters, you cause it to be publicly proclaimed on our part, that no one, of what state, degree, or condition soever he be, take upon himself arms or coats of arms of this sort, except he possess or ought to possess them, by right of ancestry, or by grant of some person having sufficient power thereunto: And that he openly shew unto him by whose grant he obtains these arms or coats, on the day of his muster, to the persons hereunto by us assigned, or to be assigned: Excepting those who bore arms with us at the Battle of Agincourt. Under penalty of being refused to proceed in the aforesaid expedition, in the num-



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ber of him with whom he stands retained, and of the loss of his pledges, taken on the aforesaid account, moreover of the erasure and rupture [rasuræ et rupturæ] of the said arms and coats, called *coatearmures*, at the time of his said muster, if they shall be shewn or found upon him. And these things you are in no wise to omit.

"Witness the king at the city of New Sarum, the second day of June, 1417."<sup>d</sup>

Similar writs were issued to the sheriffs of Wilts, Sussex, and Dorset.

From the circumstance of Thomas Strickland, who bore the banner of St. George at Agincourt, not having been honored with knighthood so late as the year 1424, when he styled himself a poor esquire, and petitioned<sup>e</sup> to be re-

<sup>d</sup> *Fœdera*, tome ix. p. 457

<sup>e</sup> This petition is so intimately connected with the battle of Agincourt, and is in itself of so interesting a nature, that a translation of it is inserted.

"To the king our sovereign lord, and to the lords of his council, most humbly supplicates a poor esquire, Thomas de Strykeland, late bearer [bearer] of the banner of St. George, of the most noble Henry the fifth whom God assoile. That it may please your good grace to consider the long service which the said suppliant has rendered to the said late king in parts beyond the sea, from the time of his arrival at Harfleur, and the battle of Agincourt, and since, up to the time when the city of Rouen was taken. And the said suppliant has as yet received no reward for his services [labour] on the day of that battle, nor any payment for his gages excepting for half a year, so that at present he is found in arrears in his account in the exchequer in the sum of xiv li. iv s. x d. ob. for certain broken vessels of silver by him put in pledge by the said late king,

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warded for his services, it would not appear that Henry's gratitude flowed with a very liberal hand. In commemoration of his success, he created a king of arms called "Agincourt," a fact which though unnoticed by the historian of the College of Arms, as well as by almost every other writer on the subject, is unquestionable; for by a writ of Privy Seal, dated at Rouen on the 4th March, in the sixth year of his reign, A° 1419, he assigned to that officer, but whose name does not occur, twenty franks per

the which vessels the said suppliant has sold, and spent the money in the service of the said late king. And therefore may it please you in reverence of God, and for the soul of the same king to grant to the said suppliant the xiv li. iv s. x d. ob. in reward of his service, and in part payment of the wages to him due by the said late king, and to grant a sufficient warrant accordingly to the treasurer and barons of the Exchequer for the discharge of the said suppliant in the said Exchequer, towards the king of the xiv li. iv s. x d. ob. above said, and that for the sake of God, and as an act of charity." Indorsed, on the 14th February, A°. 2° [1424] at Westminster, His petition was granted in the form prayed, and a warrant was issued to the treasurer and barons of the Exchequer, to exempt Strykland from the payment of xiv li. iv s. x d. ob. by the council, in which were present the duke of Gloucester, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of London, Winchester, and Norwich, the earl of Warwick, Cramwell, the chancellor, the treasurer, and the keeper of the Privy Seal." *Fodera*, tome ix. p. 319.

## The Battle of Agincourt.....ccccc

annum out of the forfeited lands of Colart du Gardin, in the county of Eu, to hold the same during the king's pleasure;<sup>f</sup> and if the revenues of those lands exceeded that sum he was to account annually to the crown for the surplus. Nor was the victory of Agincourt unmarked by one of those miracles which the church was then so fruitful in providing for every important event. In an address from the archbishop of Canterbury, to the vicar of the bishop of London, dated on the 16th December, 1416, after noticing the devotion of the English church to the holy saints, and more especially to St. John of Beverley, upon the feast of whose translation the victory at Agincourt had been lately bestowed on the king, it is stated that upon that day at the precise time when the conflict occurred, a sacred oil issued like sweat

<sup>f</sup> *Foedera*, vol. ix. p. 702. In 1430, a sir Thomas de Strykeland made his will, being then "at his shipping in Sandwich," a copy of which is inserted in the *History of Westmoreland*, and in the *Testamenta Vetusta*, p. 219, and if it was the same individual who was at Agincourt, it would appear that he was subsequently honoured with knighthood.

cccevi. . . . **The Battle of Agincourt.**

through the merits of that holy man! It from his tomb,<sup>6</sup> which undoubtedly displayed the divine mercy to his people, was therefore commanded, in testimony of gratitude for so special a favour, that his festival, which had been formerly kept on the 7th of May, should in future be celebrated on the 25th of October, with the ceremonies therein prescribed; but as the feast of the saints Crispin and Crispinian had been for ages solemnized on that day, and lest the introduction of one festival should lessen another, and rather that the said martyrs on whose day the Almighty had vouchsafed so gracious a visitation, should be properly honoured, it was provided that every succeeding 25th of October, should, in remembrance of that event, be celebrated by nine lessons, the first three of which should wholly pertain to St. Crispin and Crispinian; the next three to the translation of the aforesaid St. John; and the three last to the exposi-

■ These miraculous perspirations were not uncommon with this saint, for we are told in his legend, of a similar occurrence a few centuries after his interment

### **The Battle of Agincourt. . . . ccccvii**

tion of the gospels of the former martyrs, with the accustomed service, according to the use of Sarum.<sup>b</sup>

On the 16th March, 1416, Henry being seated on his throne in the painted chamber, in his palace of Westminster, the bishop of Winchester, the chancellor, opened the parliament by a speech, in which he briefly announced his majesty's recent success in France. He merely stated, that soon after the king's arrival, "he laid siege to the town of Harfleur, which was surrendered to him, and then from his great courage, passing by land to his town of Calais with few followers, who were much enfeebled from the want of food, he was met by a very great force and multitude of the people of France, and of other countries adjoining, and fought them until it pleased God of his high mercy to grant him the victory when his adversaries were slain and discomfited." The bishop then informed them that they had been called together for the purpose of deliberating

<sup>b</sup> *Fœdera*, vol ix, p 240.



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upon the best means of completing an object which had been so happily commenced.' In the next parliament, which met at Westminster on the 19th of October following, the subject was again alluded to in the chancellor's speech on opening the session. After stating the efforts made by the king to obtain his lawful inheritance, he observed, that "he then invaded France, and in a short time afterwards took the town of Harfleur, which was the principal key of France, and fought at 'Echyncourt,' with all the power of France, over whom God had given him a most gracious victory. But notwithstanding that in that conflict great part of the French chivalry were slain, and that many dukes, counts, and other great lords and chieftains of France, were then his prisoners, the French being still full of pride, and caring nothing for their said rebuff or weakness, would not consent to his terms of peace," &c.<sup>k</sup> Nor was the subject deemed to be even then ex-

<sup>i</sup> *Rot Parl.* vol. iv, p. 70<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> *Ibid*, p. 94.

## The Battle of Agincourt. . . . cccix

hausted, for in the speech of the bishop of Durham, the chancellor, on opening the parliament which assembled at Westminster on the 16th of November, 1417, he alluded to the "gracious exploit and marvellous victory which the Omnipotent had vouchsafed to the king at Hareflete and Echyncourt, in seeking the right of his crown in France."<sup>1</sup> The rolls of parliament contain a few other notices of the battle of Agincourt, which are worth extracting. In the 4th Hen. VI. 1425, sir John Cornwall released the arrears of the ransom of the count of Vendôme, which had been granted to him.<sup>m</sup> In the 6th Hen. VI. 1427, the duke of Gloucester and the earl of Salisbury petitioned parliament relative to the wages of their respective retinues, which they stated served at Harfleur and Agincourt; and in these proceedings the services of the duke, "as well in the siege and conquest of the king's town of Harfleur, as in the auspicious battle of Agincourt;" are ex-

<sup>1</sup> Ibid p. 106.

<sup>m</sup> Ibid p. 300 <sup>b</sup>.

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pressly recognized." In the recital of the merits of the duke of Bedford, on the 24th Nov. 12th Hen. VI. 1433, in the petition of the commons to the king for continuing the duke about his person, his bravery at Verneil is thus described, "and in especial, ye batayle of Vernull, ye which was ye grettest dede doon by English men in our dayes, save the bataille of Agyncourte."<sup>a</sup>

The *Fœdera* contains numerous documents relative to the maintenance and ransom of the prisoners taken on that occasion. Of these, the most interesting is the writ for providing beds, curtains, fustians, blankets, coverlids of worsted, canvas, featherbeds, matrasses, and other necessities, against the arrival of the dukes of Orleans, and Bourbon, and the lords, knights, and esquires of France, prisoners of the king, at Eltham, the Tower of London, Westminster, Windsor, and other places.<sup>p</sup>

It would appear from the account of banners, pennons, &c. provided for

<sup>a</sup> *Ibid.* p. 320.

<sup>a</sup> *Ibid.* p. 432.

<sup>p</sup> *Fœdera*, tome ix. p. 336

### The Battle of Agincourt. . . . ccccx

the funeral of the gallant duke of York, that that ceremony was celebrated with much splendour in St. Pauls,<sup>1</sup> but it is certain, that his body was subsequently interred at Fotheringay, according to the directions in his will. By that document, which was dated on the 22nd of August, when he was engaged in the siege of Harfleur, he bequeathed all his vestments, crucifixes, images, tabernacles, basons, ewers, censors, sconces, and other jewels in his chapel, excepting the goods and jewels which he had pledged to enable him to accompany the king in that voyage, to the master and his companions of his college of Fotheringay. Of the funeral of the earl of Suffolk, who also fell at Agincourt, no account is preserved; and the only circumstance relating to him, connected with that event, is the plaintive manner in which his brother and heir, William, duke of Suffolk, in his petition to Henry the sixth, in 1459, relates the services of his family. After alluding to the public

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

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clamour against him, the duke beseeches the king "to conside the true service that my lord my fader didde to the kyng of noble memorie your graunsire, in all the viages in his daies both by see and lande that were made oute of this lande, in the which he was at alle. And after in the daies of the moost victorious prince the kyng youre fader in whos service he died at Harflu. Myne eldest brother after with hym at the bataill of Agyncourte; myne other ij brethren also dieden in your service at Jargn, the day that I was taken, but as a knyght ought to be I trust to God, and paid xx<sup>li</sup> s<sup>r</sup> to my finaunce; my iiijth brother lying there for me in hostage, died also in your ennemyes handes." Of the immediate effects of the battle of Agincourt upon France, or upon this country, it is unnecessary to make any observations; it being the object of this work to present a detailed and impartial account of the battle itself, and of the expedition of which it formed the most memorable event.

<sup>r</sup> Rot. Parl. vol. v p. 176 <sup>a</sup>.



THE NAMES OF  
THE DUKES, ERLES, BARONS,  
KNIGHTS, ESQUIRES, SERVITEURS

AND OTHERS THAT WER WITHE THE

EXCELLENT PRINCE  
KING HENRY THE FIFTE,

AT THE

**Battell of Agincourt,**

ON FRYDAY, THE XXVth DAY OF OCTOBER, IN THE  
YERE OF OUR LORDE GOD, 1415, AND IN THE  
FIFTE<sup>a</sup> YERE OF HIS REIGNE.

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<sup>a</sup> Third.

2....The Battle of Agincourt.

THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER,

WITH HIS RETYNEW,

LANCES. Mons<sup>r</sup> Henry Husee.

Mons<sup>r</sup> Robert Roos,

Mons<sup>r</sup> William Trussell.

William Harington.

Richard Baumont.

Geffrey Lowther.

Thomas Burgh.

Conand Aske.

John Smythes.

William Hyde.

William Cressener.

Nicholas Thorley.

Robert Dacre.

Richard Skelton.

James P'drich.

**The Battle of Agincourt. . . . 3**

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**Rauf Branspeth**

**James Fenes**

**James Crofte.**

**John Oke.**

**John Reynes.**

**Walter Strykland.**

**John Aston.**

**Peter Mordon.**

**John Clynton.**

**Robert Salkeld.**

**William Rokhill.**

**Thomas Malgrane.**

**John Ward.**

**George Lampet.**

**John Enyas.**

**Richard Colfox.**

**Waulter Shyryngton.**

**Guy Wytyngton.**

**The Battle of Agincourt. 1415**

Thomas Glouc. . . . .

Adam Adria. . . . .

Nicholas Gryffen. . . . .

John Bredfeld. . . . .

Nichas in Scot. . . . .

Roger Clyderow. . . . .

Richard Bytterley. . . . .

Richard Wytton. . . . .

Richard Hakett. . . . .

Nicholas Fitz Hugh. . . . .

William Bryght. . . . .

John Werkerton. . . . .

Charles Midelton. . . . .

William Barry. . . . .

Richard Asshewell. . . . .

Roger Smythewyke. . . . .

Thomas Wayte. . . . .

William Standon. . . . .

# The Battle of Agincourt. 345

Gyles Burton. 1000 1

William Curteys. 1000 1

Richard Colerne. 1000 1

John de la Lande. 1000 1

Andrew de Rolf. 1000 1

John Holme. 1000 1

John Bekwyth. 1000 1

Nicholas Coule. 1000 1

Richard Estnays. 1000 1

Thomas Hokeley. 1000 1

John Coveley. 1000 1

Thomas Coveley. 1000 1

Nicholas Gayte. 1000 1

Laurence Bucke. 1000 1

Thomas Wyngge. 1000 1

William Lovell. 1000 1

Thomas Wellys. 1000 1

John Pymppe. 1000 1



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William Stalworthes

John Counseill. doct.

Henry Veell. mede //

Richard Moyden. doct

William Clopton. doct

Thomas Weston. doct

Thomas Wytteney //

John Banester. regent

Edward Stradlyng. doct

Richard Kyckley. doct

Robert Cropbult. doct

Robert Sydmans. doct //

Owaine Hornby. doct //

Edward Hawken. doct //

Robert Hillary. doct.

John Wissington. doct.

Thomas Roos. doct.

Mayew Matlow. doct

**The Waste of Signet-Rings . . . . 7**

Richard Whithed, 11 77

John Kyrkham, 1106

William Bolleron, 11

Thomas Thwayte, 11

Henry Kelkenny, 11 77

Thomas Sewell, 1106

William Paternosted, 11

Roger Ekyth, 11 11

Richard Layland, 1106

Thomas Capper, 1106

Richard Louthen, 1106

William Haute, 1106

Hugh Louthen, 1106

William Tenell, 1106

John Stamford, 1106

John Felde, 1106

John Yonge, 1106

John Kinge, 1106

## 8....The Battle of Agincourt.

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John Aleyn.

George Counsell.

John Cole.

William Holdelyne.

William Cressewell.

Thomas Sewalle.

Thomas Claypole.

William Hyde.

Hugh Smyth.

John Rygelyn.

William Darset.

Robert Philip.

John Rede.

John Cannidische.

Gryffen Fordet.

Gerard Johnson.

(b) John Salmon.

Bernard Singleton.

## The Battle of Agincourt. . . . 9.

|                  |   |
|------------------|---|
| Edmond Dacre.    | 1 |
| John de Erlesch. | 1 |
| Gawayn Salcok.   | 1 |
| Thomas Bostoñ.   | 1 |
| Robert Benote.   | 1 |
| Yon Hamond.      | 1 |
| John Savgrond.   | 1 |
| John de Ware.    | 1 |
| Thomas Hakerle.  | 1 |
| Thomas Halntoñ.  | 1 |
| John Huet.       | 1 |
| John Sutton.     | 1 |
| Robert Milborn.  | 1 |
| Thomas Nele.     | 1 |
| William Ogan.    | 1 |
| Richard Wyche.   | 1 |

The number of LANCES withe the  
Duke of Gloster, ————— cxlij.

10. . . . The Battle of Agincourt.

The number of the ARCHERS, that  
be here named ————— iiiiij vj

— 51 — 51 —  
— 51 — 51 —  
— 51 — 51 —  
— 51 — 51 —

THESE BE THE NAMES OF THE RETENU OF  
THE EARL OF MARCHE,  
WHICH WAS AT THE BATTILL OF EGYNCOURT

LANCES, Leonard Hastings.

William Cotesmore.

Richard Maydeston,

Thomas Cusak,

Morys Pountayne.

Lewys Corenwayle.

John Clifford.

Richard Fulshull.

Degare Gamell.



**The Battle of Agincourt . . . . 11**

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**William Halsast.**  
**Thomas Lovell.**  
**Richard Baron.**  
**Robert Moresby.**  
**William Cornewayle.**  
**John Daumselle.**  
**John Somers.**  
**Richard Kemton.**  
**Stemham Cornyssh.**  
**John Myddelton.**

**LANCES §—xix.—Archers §—cij.**

12. . . . The Battle of Agincourt

THE ROLLE OF HUNTINGTON,

WITH HIS RETENU THAT WAS AT THE  
BATTELL OF EGYNCOURT.

Laurence Dutton.

Thomas Deell.

William Junnyng.

John Loyrñ.

John Quayteley.

William Gyrdeley.

Hugh Corton.

Yon Elys.

Thomas Talbot.

William Kylleryen.

John Rotyng.

John Cosyñ.

John Hard.

**The Battle of Agincourt . . . 13.**

Nicholas Lovell.

William Wymondeswold.

LANC<sup>s</sup> \$—xvi \$—ARCHERS \$—xxxv.

THESE BE THE NAMES OF THE RETENU OF  
THE ERLE MARSHALL,  
THAT WAS AT THE BATTELL OF  
EGYNCOURT WITH THE KINGE.

Mons<sup>r</sup> Thomas Rokesby.

Mons<sup>r</sup> Thomas Lyndeley.

Mons<sup>r</sup> John Hoton.

Mons<sup>r</sup> John Geryne.

Mons<sup>r</sup> John Hevenyngham.

CHIVALIERS.

14. . . . The Battle of Agincourt.

LANC. Edmond Rodsam.

Robert Holme.

Nicholl Lodewyke.

Robert Bassett.

Robert Barde.

Piers Capell.

Nicholas Dawne.

Roger Jonderell.

Roger Radelyfe.

Miles de Beaton.

Robert Leventhrop.

Thomas Wynter.

Robert Counstable.

John Haytefelde.

John Swynborne.

Richard Dulle.

Edward Wyner.

George Wyñ.

# The Battle of Agincourt. . . . 15

Arthur Wyn.

Thomas Newson.

Thomas Rokeby.

John Perers.

John Lyndeley.

Nicholas Lyndeley.

William Hagthrop.

John Wardale.

John Holgrave.

John Wytch.

LANCES §—xxxij.—ARCHERS. §—lxxx.



16....*The Battle of Agincourt.*

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THE RETENUE OF THE  
ERLE OF SUFFOLK,  
THE FATHER.

Mons<sup>r</sup> William Spayne.  
Mons<sup>r</sup> Thomas Charles.  
Olyver Groos.

LANCES. William Argingten  
Nicholas Wiseman.  
John Genney.  
William Wynfield.  
John Kendall.  
John Broke.  
John Catecombe.  
Richard Brycere.  
William Edward.  
John Wylby.  
Roger Botoñ.

**The Battle of Agincourt....17**

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**Thomas Spicer.**

**John Castell.**

**LANCES. §—xvj.—ARCHERS. §—lxxi.**

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**THE RETENU OF THE  
ERLE OF CAMBRIGGE.**

**LANCES. Robert Rokley.**

**Thomas Ward.**

**William Ward.**

**LANCES. §—iij.—ARCHERS. §—vi.**

18. . . . The Battle of Agincourt

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THE ERLE OF OXFORD,

WITH HIS RETENU, THAT WAS AT THE  
BATTELL OF EGYNCOURT.

LANCES. Thomas Beston.

John Herny.

John Taverner.

Edmond Folstolf.

Geffrey Denys.

Robert Wellyng.

William Preston.

John Edmund.

Richard Arderne.

Thomas Balinburgh.

Richard Worcester.

John Wolf.

Ranlyn Wardale.

**The Battle of Agincourt. . . . 19**

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John Somerton.  
William Petybon.  
William Steryn.  
John Remys.  
Robert Work.  
John Bendyshe.  
Thomas Tyringham.  
Edmund Preston.  
George Laughton.  
William Sencler.  
John Balinburgh.  
Roger Eston.  
Thomas Stonyngez.  
Edmund Taylour.  
John Blacleys.

LANCES. §—xxix.—ARCHERS.—lxxix.

20. . . . The Battle of Agincourt

THE ERLE OF SUFF',  
THE SONNE, THAT WAS AT THE  
BATTLE OF EGYNC.

Mons.<sup>r</sup> John Calf, Chl<sup>r</sup>

LANCES. William Calf,

John Colston,

John Stafford,

William Portter,

John Doker,

John de Chambr,

William Bromley,

Pires Watforde,

John Edward,

Walter Calf,

John Montag,

William Cathorn.

LANCES. §—xiiij. ARCHERS §—xlvj.



The Battle of Agincourt... 21

THE RETENU OF  
SR. DE HARINGTON.

- Mons.<sup>r</sup> Thomas Fitzpayn  
Mons.<sup>r</sup> Aleyn fyt de Pennington  
John Botteux  
John Pakton  
Rauf Arundell  
Robert Corin  
John Chichester  
Nicholas Rudney  
John Lacombe  
Henry Loddred  
Thomas Cole  
John Folbroke  
Richard Hudelston  
Richard Skelton

22. . . . The Battle of Agincourt.

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John Salkell.

John Payntour.

John Penyngton.

William Preston.

Richard Prestoñ.

William Laurence.

Gilbert Nowell.

Thomas Nevyle.

Nicholas Lamplough.

Thomas Broughton.

Richard Harington.

LANCES. §—xxvj.—ARCHERS.—lxxxiiij.

**The Battle of Agincourt.....23**

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**THE RETENU OF  
S<sup>R</sup>. GERARD UFFLETT.**

**LANCES. Thomas Sampson.**

**John Scoles.**

**Roger Dokwre.**

**Thomas Dawner.**

**Thomas Bolton.**

**Richard Lytell.**

**Robert Browne.**

**Thomas Magson.**

**Mayhew Horneby.**

**LANCES.—ix.—ARCHERS.—xxxij.**

24. . . . The Battle of Agincourt.

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THE LORD MATREVES,

WITH HIS RETENU AT THE BATTELL  
OF EGYNCOURT.

LANCES. Mons.<sup>r</sup> Wauter Barkeley.

Henry Tylmayñ.

John Frompton.

William Moore.

Robert Banent<sup>r</sup>.

Thomas Poynt<sup>r</sup>.

John Bavent.

Robert Pokeswelle.

John Winford.

LANCES. ——— x. ——— ARCHERS. ——— xxxiiij.

**The Battle of Agincourt. . . . 25**

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**THE LORD CAMOYS,**

**WITH HIS RETENU.**

**Thomas Hoo.**

**Thomas Leget.**

**William Canvyle.**

**John Belstede.**

**John Symnsby.**

**John Bolde.**

**John Ayleward.**

**John More.**

**Robert Kynston.**

**Thomas Gylspyñ.**

**Symond Codington.**

**Dany Boydoñ.**

**John Bredoñ.**

**John Colmere.**



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John Palmer.

John Trussell.

John Oderne.

William Merlot.

Lewys Mewys.

Thomas Tryskebett.

John Gode.

Nicholl Ramsell.

Thomas Kitzhenry, {mort al  
                                  {bataile.

LANCES.—xxiiij.—ARCHERS.—lxix.

**The Battle of Agincourt.....27**

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**THE LORD ROOS,**

**WITH HIS RETENU.**

**LANCES.** Robert Harington.  
Godefryd Leeke.  
Henry Normanvyle.  
Thomas Bolton.  
Nicholas Clyf.  
William Colston.  
John Plumton.  
Thomas Rotherham.

**LANCES.——ix.——ARCHERS.——xxij.**

28. . . . The Battle of Agincourt.

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THE RETENU OF  
THE LORD FERRIS,  
WHICH WAS AT THE BATTELL OE EGYNECOURT.

William Handsacre.

William Draycote.

Waut<sup>r</sup> Yon<sup>r</sup>.

John Broneshelf.

John Wallker.

LANCES. ——— v. ——— ARCHERS. ——— ix.

**The Battle of Agincourt.....29**

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**THE RETENU OF THE  
LORD SCROPE.**

**Robert Hopton.**

**Esmond Assheton.**

**Robert Rokeby.**

**Robert Merkynefeild.**

**William Entwessell.**

**William de Smeton.**

**LANCES.——vj.——ARCHERS.——xiiij.**

Memorandum that Robert Babthorpe, Knight, Controller of the Kinges Howse, and Sir Rowland Lenthall, Knight, delivered in to the Kinges Exchequer, under there handes this account a bove sayd with these here after mentioned in the forth yere of Kinge Henry the fyfte.

30. . . . The Battle of Agincourt.

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THE RETENU OF  
S<sup>R</sup> ROULAND LENTHALL.

Mons<sup>r</sup> Rouland Leynthale.

Bartholowmew Sayer.

Bradston.

John Bitterlee.

Richard Fythiañ.

Henry Gerard.

John Melyõ.

Edmond Tyldesle.

Rys ap Rother.

LANCES. ——— viij. ——— ARCHERS. ——— xxxiiij.



**The Battle of Agincourt.....31**

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**THE RETENU OF THE  
LORD TALBOT.**

**LANCES. Edward Sprencheux.**

**William Arthur.**

**Nicholas Landelle.**

**Robert Balle.**

**Robert Sutton.**

**John Dodde.**

**Roger Frodesham.**

**John Stanle.**

**John Glene.**

**Richard Maule.**

**Nicholas Gryffyth.**

**Henry Samoñ.**

**Gilbert Mulborne.**

**John Mandevyle.**

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William Fleccher.

Thomas Wanghall.

Thomas Spaldinge.

John Portingaler.

Robert Erdeswyke.

John Elys.

LANCES. — XX. — ARCHERS. — IV.

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THE LORD FITZ-HUGH,

CHAMBERLEYN TO THE KINGE, WITH

HIS RETENU.

Mons<sup>r</sup>. William Fitz-hugh.

Mons<sup>r</sup>. Geffrey Fitz-hugh.

Mons<sup>r</sup>. William de Evers.

Mons<sup>r</sup>. Thomas de Routhe.

} CH<sup>LR</sup>S.

**The Battle of Agincourt.....33**

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**LANCES.** William de Rednesse.

John de Thorp.

William de Bony.

John de Bland.

William de Grandorge.

Richard Haldenby.

Richard Hamby.

John Barbour.

Thomas Aberswyke.

Richard Baleston.

Roger Boleston.

John Scrastowe.

Cok Trump.

Robert Trumper.

Roger Roleston.

John Kertyngton.

**LANCES.—xxj.—ARCHERS.—lxxxix.**

34....The Battle of Agincourt.

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SIR THOMAS ERPYNGHAM,  
STUARD OF THE KINGS HOUSE WITH  
HIS RETENU.

Mons<sup>r</sup>. Hamond Straunge.

Mons<sup>r</sup>. Waut<sup>r</sup>. Goldyngham.

John Sterlyng.

Denston Stratton.

John Brayston.

John Leneny.

John Gegge.

Leonard Straunge.

John Aungers, mort a Caloys.

John Assheman.

William Hart.

Piers Thorley.

Brysingham.

Nicholas Gunvyle.

LANCES.—xvj.—ARCHERS.—xlvij.

**The Battle of Agincourt. . . . 35**

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**SIR JOHN GRÈY,**

**WITH HIS RETENU.**

**Thomas Salveyn.**

**Edmond Heron.**

**Robert Lyske.**

**John Horton.**

**Thomas Judde.**

**Edward Heron.**

**John de Eryngton.**

**Richard Habraham.**

**Richard Acherton.**

**Henry Writtington.**

**Triston Leylond.**

**Adam Egworth.**

**William Kelde.**

**Robert Sampson.**

**John at Wode.**



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John Hareford.

Richard Peryson.

Thomas Fitzhenry.

George Gray.

William Eworthe.

John de Cramlyngton.

Rouland de Itede.

Thomas Ragge.

Robert Corbet.

John Yorke.

John Reskell.

John Wilson.

Rouland Arnestränge.

William de Charleton.

John de Woller.

Davy Gray.

Thomas Gray de Banburgh.

John de Chester.

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**Lyell de Chester.**

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**SIR ROBERT BABTHORP,**

**CONTROLLER OF THE KING'S HOWSE,**

**WITH HIS RETENU.**

**Thomas Babthorp.**

**Thomas Wisse.**

**Thomas Hardewyn.**

**John Wardale.**

**William Mason.**

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THE RETENU OF  
WILLIAM KYNWALMARCHE,  
THE KINGES COFERER.

Robert Myrfyn. }  
Richard Andelaby. } LANCES—ij.

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JOHN CHENY,  
ESQUIER FOR THE BODY,  
WITH HIS RETENU.

John Cheyne, iunior. }  
Thomas Ponns. } LANCES—iiij.  
John Evingham. }

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**JOHN STYWARD,  
ESQUIER FOR THE BODY,  
WITH HIS RETENU.**

Edmund Hardys.	}	LANCES—iiij.
William Manston.		
Thomas Baker.		

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**NICHOLAS PERCHE,  
ESQUIER, WITH HIS RETENU.**

---

**LOWIS ROBESART,  
ESQUIER, WITH HIS RETENU.**

---

**THE RETENU OF THE SERJENT OF THE  
COUNTYNGHOUSE.**

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JOHN FEREBY,

CLARKE OF THE GRENE CLOTH  
sike at the castell of Meremont.

WALTER BURTON,

CLARKE OF THE GRENE CLOTH.

THOMAS MORTON,

CLARKE OF THE GRENE CLOTH.

WILLIAM BALNE,

CLARKE OF THE KINGES KYTCHIN.

ROBERT ALDERTON,

UNDER-CLARKE OF THE KYTCHIN.

John Butler.

Rauf Pope.

Henry Bromley.

William Courteney.



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**Ebull Stranng.**

**John Elmain.**

**James Hoget.**

**Thomas Bolde.**

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**THOMAS STRYKLAND,**

**BORE THE BANER OF ST. GEORGE.**

**Edmund Benstede.**

---

**JOHN RIDER, Esquier,**

**S<sup>t</sup> GENT OF THE KINGES PALLIE, WITH**

**HIS RETENU.**

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JOHN BURGH, H

WITH HIS RETENU.

Thomas Water. . . .

John Bryggeze. . . .

Rys Robyn. . . .

Robyn Dyeby. . . .

Stephain Ferrer. . . .

John Clement. . . .

Robert Hunte. . . .

Robert Helyon. . . .

Thomas Eston. . . .

Robert Lacok. . . .

Richard Parker. . . .

William Whiteme. . . .

John Holton. . . .

John Phelipe. . . .

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Thomas Scarlet.  
Robert Quixley.  
Thomas Lychebarow.  
William Bank.  
Nicholas Holand.  
Thomas Apulton.  
Gerard Huyn.  
William Casteleyn.  
Andrew Gray.  
John Asto.  
Henry Londe.  
Nicholas Reresby.  
William Burgoyne.  
John Selby.  
Richard Etton.  
B'rtram de France.  
William Holt.  
John Hardgrove.

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**Laurence Everard.**

**Thomas Corbet.**

**Thomas Stanton.**

**William Fitzhenry.**

**William Bradwardyn.**

**Nicholas Lary.**

**Gyles Thordon.**

**Thomas Mapurley.**

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**Dany Cawardyn.**

**Oweyn Cawardyn:**

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William Malboñ.  
Robert Soubache.  
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John Bromley.  
John Rys.  
William Somercotes.  
William Sadeler.  
John Burnam.

**THE SERVANTES OF THE KINGES HOUSHOLD.**

**SIR WILLIAM TALBOT, KNIGHT,  
WITH HIS RETEND.**

Thomas Talbot.  
William Sampson.  
Thomas Drynok.

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SIR WALTER HUNGERFORD,

WITH HIS RETENU.

Elis Delamare.

William Chesterton.

Nicholas Poyntz.

Henry Croke.

Waul Charleton.

John Rous.

Richard Lye.

John Floureyne.

William Arthur.

Nicholas Hampton.

John Tyrell.

John Trystram.

John Halle.

John Hall.

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**Thomas Roley.**

**Thomas Bernard.**

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**SIR THOMAS WEST.**

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**Roger Clyfton.**

**Henry Wareyn.**

**John Radwell.**

**John Medmengham.**

**John Englyche.**

**William Morys.**

**William Cordray.**

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WITH HIS RETENU. . .

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Thomas Water. . . ✓

John Bryggeze. . . T

Rys Robyn. . . .

Robyn Dyeby. . . //

Stephain Ferro. . . .

John Clement. . . .

Robert Hunto. . . .

Robert Helyon. . . .

Thomas Eston. . . .

Robert Lacok. . . .

Richard Parker. . . .

William Whittemã. . .

John Holton. . . //

John Phelipe. . . .

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Thomas Scarlet.  
Robert Quixley.  
Thomas Lychebarow.  
William Bank.  
Nicholas Holand.  
Thomas Apulton.  
Gerard Huyn.  
William Casteleyn.  
Andrew Gray.  
John Asto.  
Henry Londe.  
Nicholas Reresby.  
William Burgoyne.  
John Selby.  
Richard Etton.  
B'rtram de France.  
William Holt.  
John Hardgrove.

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William Coule.

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THE RETENU OF  
SIR RICHARD HASTINGES.

Radūs Alan.

William de Pytton.

John Leventhorp.

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**Mons<sup>r</sup> William Buteler.**

**Gryffen de Hesketh.**

**John de Syngleton.**

**Thomas de Asheton.**

**Robert de Heton.**

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**John de Peniton, mort a bataill.**

**Gybon de Southeworke.**

**William de Walton.**

**Mons<sup>r</sup> Thomas Beawmond.**

**Robert Breton.**

**Bertram Moucher.**

**James Clyfton.**

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Mons<sup>r</sup> Thomas Percy, on sa Retenu.

William Fowler.

William Fayrchild.

Mons<sup>r</sup> John Osbaldesten, Chtr.

John de Malpas.

Richard de Malpas.

Mons<sup>r</sup> Henry de Skaresbreke, Chtr.

Edward Banester.

Henry Gray.

John Gylle.

Mons<sup>r</sup> Edmund de la Pole, Chtr.

Richard Doo.

Alan Dalby.

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**Mons<sup>r</sup> William Stanely, Chtr.**

**Henry Hoton.**

**John Barbour.**

**Mons<sup>r</sup> Piers de Legh, on sa Retenu.**

**Robert Orell.**

**Hugh de Orell.**

**Thomas Sutton.**

**John Pygott.**

**George de Asheley.**

**Mons<sup>r</sup> Rauf de Bostock.**

**Chrestopher de Hogh.**

**Mons<sup>r</sup> John Everingham.**

**Thomas Everingham.**

**John Repace.**

**Thomas Baker.**

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**THE RETENU OF  
SIR RAULFE SHYRLEY.**

**Rauf Fowne.**

**John Waryn.**

**John Gloucestre.**

**Mons' John Savage, Chfr.**

**Randolf de Legh.**

**Thomas de More.**

**John le Warde.**

**John le Heche.**

**Mons' Thomas Rampston, Chfr.**

**Henry Wychard.**

**John Barre.**

**John Bassowell.**

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**William Sheffield.**

**Thomas Glover.**

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**Mons<sup>r</sup> Richard Radclyf.**

**Peter de Singleton.**

**Olyver de Ancotes.**

**Mons<sup>r</sup> William Hudelston, Chtr.**

**Richard Skypton.**

**William Grene.**

**Mons<sup>r</sup> William Cromwell.**

**Thomas Halyday.**

**Mons<sup>r</sup> William de Ligh, Chtr.**

**William Agglyonby.**



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~~~~~  
**William Marnam.**

**Richard Townley.**

**William de Holeyns, Lance de  
Mons<sup>r</sup> Thomas Gresele.**

**Thomas Ferrou de Blythe.**

**John Massy de Preston.**

**Robert Sherard.**

**Gregory Ballard.**

**John Clynke.**

**Henry Bromley.**

**George Haseley.**

**John Massy.**

**Roger de Molington.**

**Thomas Rugmayn.**

**William Warde.**

**John de Morley.**

**William de Kyghley.**

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**William de Kighley.**

**Rauf de Hayton.**

**Stremũ Sharp.**

**Thomas Warde.**

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**THE RETENU OF  
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WHICH DIED AT HARFLEWE.**

**Geffron de Hesketh.**

**John de Singleton.**

**Thomas de Asheton.**

**Robert de Hoton.**

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THE RETENU OF  
SIR NICHOLAS LONGFORD,  
WHICH GOD ASSOILE.

Robert Redyche.  
Rauf Byrches.  
Henry Walker.

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HERTANKE,  
WITH HIS RETENU.

Frederyk Scoffe.  
Richard Wellys.  
James de Shaterton.  
William Massy.

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**John de Leche.**

**Christopher de Preston.**

**Nicholas de Reresby.**

**Raulf de Pole.**

**Richard Hamys.**

**John Standisshe.**

**Robert Radclif.**

**Robert Qwyley.**

**John de Massy.**

**John Done.**

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**William Massy.**

**Nicholas Haywode.**

**Adam de Whytingham.**

**George Benet, Cordewener  
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**Thomas de Wombwell.**

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**Simon Havle.**

**Robert Hanle.**

**Thomas Bulthorp.**

**William Herny.**

**Thomas Hardy.**

**John Byngley.**

**John Dirikson.**

**Thomas Cowle.**

**John Gronevyle.**

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THE RETENU OF  
NICHOLAS MERBY.

Waryn Waldegrave.  
William Hudleston.  
William Ducworth.  
John de Asheton.  
John Longshaw, malade a  
Harfler.

Servants in fee with the Kinge, that  
was under the goverment  
of the Kinge.

SIR JOHN ASHETON, KNIGHT,  
WITH HIS RETENU.

John Asheton.

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**Roger de Mylvehows.**

**Maister Thomas de Conyng-  
hoplane**

**Surgeantz du Roy.———viij.**

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**THE RETENU OF  
WILLIAM MERYNG.**

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**THE RETENU OF  
SIR JOHN PILKINGTON.**

**John Kay.**

**Roger Kay.**

**William Lee.**

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SIR WILLIAM PHELIPE,

WITH HIS RETENU.

Thomas Holwyscont.

William Gode.

John Barnard.

Thomas Poley.

Robert Hemnale.

Jacob Denys.

William Kemston.

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**SIR WILLIAM BOURCHIER,**

**WITH HIS RETENU.**

**Mons<sup>r</sup> Roger Aston.**

**Mons<sup>r</sup> Richard Walgrave,**

**Mons<sup>r</sup> John Suert.**

**Thomas Arblastier.**

**Walter Verney.**

**John Hampton.**

**Richard Halys.**

**William Franceys.**

**John Newland.**

**William Gwyñ.**

**Guy Duke.**

**Edward Mackwilliam.**

**Richard Kempe.**

**Rauf Boteler.**



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William Gulby.

William Mareys.

Waulter Haket.

Thomas Spencer.

John Gryffeth.

William Tendrynge.

John Gaywode.

John Saxton.

John a Thomas.

Nicholas Gomond.

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Alexander Sheffe, Overseer of  
Harfleu.

William Bramshulf, taken at  
Fescame.

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**Geffrey Blake, killde befor  
Mustererilers.**

**Lewis Cadowen, killde befor  
the Battell.**

**Mons<sup>r</sup> John Cornewayle.**

**Mons<sup>r</sup> John Harpeden.**

**Henry Yewelton.**

**Richard Drayton.**

**Thomas Wenlock.**

**William Lowdsop.**

**Roger White.**

**Gerard Askyn; on Deux  
archers.**

**John Plome.**

**John Corwayle.**

**John Garrew, p<sup>s</sup> a bataill.**

**John Hynton.**

**John Gryffyth.**

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Thomas Cramford.

Robert Wyfeld.

Walter Colepeper. } on v. Ar-

Edward Colepeper. } chers.

John Codington.

John Sampson.

1811 .. Henry Sparke.

Thomas Eustace.

John Burton.

Thomas Southerne.

Edward Tyberay.

Laurence Chipendene.

Robert Blosme.

William Chippenham.

2 .. Heugh Tangle.

Henry Myles.

John a Wode.

John Kynner.

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**Thomas Brugge.**

**Misted.**

**John Kelly.**

**Thomas Gifford, came into Eng-  
land from Harfleur, sicke.**

**Nicholas Bromford with iv. Ar-  
chers, went into England from Har-  
fleur, sicke.**

**Roger Wisse.**

**Peres.**

**Thomas Crusak.**

**Ellingham.**

**Hugh Tangley.**

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SIR WILLIAM HARINGTON,

WITHE HIS RETENU.

William Harington.

John Pykeringe.

John Staynton.

Robert Gawnfield.

Maykn Crofte.

John Bradshawe.

Thomas Fitzhenry.

John Mawsore.

Rauf Westby.

John Fitzhenry.

Robert Thornour.

Jacob Bery.

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**THE RETENU OF  
JOHN DE WATERTON.**

**John Wastnys, maſade a  
Harfler.**

**Mons<sup>r</sup> John Bowchier.**

**James Wychington.**

**Bernard Seyvill.**

**Robert Longesby.**

**John Tournay.**

**William Sutell.**

**Be it Remembred that Robert Babthorp, Knight, controler of the Kinges house, did delyver to the Barons of the King's Exchequer, by the comandement of the Kinge, the xix. day of No-**

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vember, In forth yere of our Sovereigne Lord the Kinge, this Rolle conteyning xviij prestes, the last prest indentyd with this Bill; the which Rolle Conteyneth the parcell of the names of the men that was with the Kinge at the Battell of Agincourt, that is to saye, the second and in the 3 yere of his Reigne, for execution to be done for the profyte of our sovereigne Lord the Kinge, the said bill so taken from the said Rolle, was delyvered by the said Barons unto the aforesaid Sir Robert Babthorp.

The following notices relative to the Battle of Agincourt, though taken from the same MS. volume as the former, were not connected with them; and from many subsequent corrections having been made in the baptismal names of the Noblemen, who are there said to have been present at the Battle, it is manifest that it was not copied from any authentic record. Their insertion seemed, however, to be desirable.

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taken presoners in the tyme of Kinge Henry  
the V. at the Battell of Agyncourt A°. Dñ.  
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Charles, Duc of Orliaunce, father  
to Lewis the xii, Kinge  
of France of that name.

The Duc de Dalencon.

The Countie Eu.

The Countie Vendosme.

The Countie Richemond.

P<sup>r</sup>SENORS.

The Duc of Bourbon.

The Duc of Brabant.

The Duc of Cleves.

The Duc of Baviere.

The Countie de Nevers.

The Countie de Namur.

The Countie de Haynold.



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The Countie de Fois.

The Countie de Lestrake.

The Countie de Vertuz.

The Countie de Tankrvil.

Le S<sup>r</sup> de Rambures.

Le S<sup>r</sup> de Gamaches.

Le S<sup>r</sup> de Torcy.

Le S<sup>r</sup> de Delaheuse.

Le S<sup>r</sup> de Dārcherer.

Le S<sup>r</sup> de Mangny.

Le S<sup>r</sup> de Hengnevil.

Le S<sup>r</sup> de Preaulx.

Le S<sup>r</sup> de Fountannes.

Le S<sup>r</sup> de Ferieres.

Le S<sup>r</sup> de Beaumesirl.

Le S<sup>r</sup> de Hambye.

Le S<sup>r</sup> de Romnrow.

Le S<sup>r</sup> de Trecy.

Le S<sup>r</sup> de Crenley.

Le S<sup>r</sup> de Tylly.

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Le S<sup>r</sup> de Chamboy.

Le S<sup>r</sup> de Gacey.

Le S<sup>r</sup> de Urpont.

Le S<sup>r</sup> de Challenay.

Le S<sup>r</sup> de Sillie.

Le S<sup>r</sup> de Ducey.

Le S<sup>r</sup> de Dasse.

Le S<sup>r</sup> de Nonens.

Le S<sup>r</sup> de Suze.

Le S<sup>r</sup> de Sable.

Le S<sup>r</sup> de Virt.

Le S<sup>r</sup> de Parteney.

Le S<sup>r</sup> de Dalbreth, that was  
Constable of France, and dy-  
vers other Knightes unto the  
number of 2400, given by  
Declaration of Mount Joy,  
Kinge of Armes of France.

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---

And for that Sir William Tybonille, lord of de la Riviere, gathered of the ennemyes unto the number of  $\text{x}^{\text{ii}}$  men of Ware, under the White Pennon, to have geven a newe battell, the said victorious prince, King Henry the V<sup>th</sup> caused to be cryed through his host that every man should kille his pryssoner, and that was the cause that all the Nobles was killed.

And in this Battell of the p<sup>t</sup> of the said Victorious Prince, was killed theis Lords as followithe :—

The Duc of Yorke.

The Countie de Suff.

Le S<sup>r</sup> de Richard Kykelley.

Davy Game, Esquier of Wales,

And x Archers.

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### KNIGHTS MADE AT THE BATTALL OF AGINCOURT.

Sir John Feries.  
Sir Ranolde Graystoke.  
Sir Peter Tempest.  
Sir Xpoter Morisby.  
Sir Thomas Pekeringe.  
Sir William Hodelston.  
Sir John Hosbalton.

KNIGHTS MADE.

The names of the Nobles of England, that  
was with the Kinge at the Battayll of Agyn-  
Courte:—

Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester.  
Edward, Duke of Yorke, slayn.  
Conte de Huntynghton.  
Edmond, Conte de Marche.  
Richard, Conte de Oxinford.  
Edward, Conte Devenshier.  
Gilbert Humfreyvil, Conte de Kyme.

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John, Sire de Roos.

Thomas, S<sup>r</sup> de Willoughby.

John, S<sup>r</sup> de Clyfford.

John, S<sup>r</sup> de Beauchamp.

Le S<sup>r</sup> de Spencer, et de bourgaveney,  
et Conte de Worcester.

Le S<sup>r</sup> de Fitz Hugh.

Le S<sup>r</sup> de Clynton.

Le S<sup>r</sup> de Ferieres Groby.

Le S<sup>r</sup> de Feriers Chartelley.

Le S<sup>r</sup> de Cameys.

Le S<sup>r</sup> de Bewser.

Le S<sup>r</sup> de Harington.

Le Baron de Carew.

withe many other to the number  
of viij<sup>c</sup> sperres, viij<sup>m</sup> Archers come  
from Hareflette to agyncourte,  
where was of frenchmen c<sup>l</sup>.m. l<sup>l</sup>.m.  
men.



**THE RETINUE OF H. V.**

**IN HIS FIRST VOYAGE,**

**3 HEN. V.\***

\* From unpublished Collections for *Rymer's Fœdera*.  
Sloane MSS. 6400.



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	Men at Arms.	Horse Archers	Foot Archers
Thomas, Duk of Clarence <sup>a</sup> . .	240	{ 1 Earl, 2 Banets. 14 Knights, 222 Esqs. }	720
Humphrey, Duk of Gloucestr <sup>b</sup> .	200	{ 6 Knts. 193 Esqs. }	600
Edward, Duk of York <sup>c</sup> . . . .	100	{ 1 Baron, 4 Knts. 94 Esqs. }	300
Thomas, Earl of Dorset . . . .	100	{ 1 Baneret, 6 Knts. 92 Esqs. }	300
Richard, Earl of Cambridge <sup>d</sup> }	60	{ 2 Knts. 57 Esqs. }	160
Thomas, Earl of Salisbury <sup>e</sup> . .	40	{ 3 Knts. 36 Esqs. }	80
John, Earl Mareschal. . . .	50	{ 4 Knts, 45 Esqs. }	150
Esmond, Earl of March. . . . .	60	{ 1 Baneret, 3 Knts. 55 Esqs. }	160
Thomas, Earl of Arundell. . . .	100	{ 7 Banerets, 3 Knts. 89 Esqs. }	300
Michael, Earl of Suff <sup>f</sup> . . . . .	40	{ 2 Knts. 37 Esqs. }	120
Earl of Oxford . . . . .	40		100
Earl of Huntingdon . . . . .	20		40
John, Earl of Huntingdon <sup>g</sup> . . . }	20		60

<sup>a</sup> See the copy of the Agreement between the King and the Duke, dated 29 April, 1415, *Fœdera*, Tome, ix. pp. 227, 228.

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid*      <sup>c</sup> *Ibid*, p. 250      <sup>d</sup> *Ibid*, p. 230.

<sup>e</sup> It appears from a memorandum in another part of the volume from which the above was taken, that the Retinue of the Earl of Huntingdon, consisted of 20 men at Arms and

## 84. . . . The Battle of Agincourt.

	Men at Arms		Horse Archers	Foot Archers
John, Sire Mautravers . .	20	{ 1 Knt. 18 Esqs.	}	. . . . . 40
John, Sire de Cammoys . .	30	{ 2 Knts. 27 Esqs.	}	60
William, Sire la Zouche . . .	20	{ 2 Knts. 17 Esqs.	}	. . . . . 40
William, Sire de Botreaux . .	20	{ 2 Knts. 17 Esqs.	}	40
William, Sire de Willoughby	30	{ 2 Knts. 27 Esqs.	}	60
Henry, Sire Lescrop <sup>a</sup> . . . .	30	{ 3 Knts. 26 Esqs.	}	90
John, Sire de Harington . .	30	{ 3 Knts. 26 Esqs.	}	90
Henry, Sire Fitz Hugh . . .	30	{ 3 Knts. 26 Esqs.	}	90
Gilbert, Sire de Talbot <sup>b</sup> . . .	30	{ 2 Knts. 27 Esqs.	}	90

40 Archers in April, 1415, *Fœdera*, Tome, ix. p. 226. but that in May following, it had increased to 20 men at arms and sixty archers. *Ibid*, p. 25.—in the list in the text, the same names are sometimes mentioned twice, and which might refer to different persons, but it may most commonly be assigned to the same cause as that from which the double entry of the Earl of Huntingdon's retinue arose: hence, in calculating the King's Army, it is the safest plan to reckon such names once only, but to take the greatest number of which their respective retinues are said to have consisted

<sup>a</sup> See his agreement with the King, dated 29 April, 1415, *Fœdera*, Tome ix. f. 231.

<sup>b</sup> Gilbert, Lord Talbot, petitioned the King, stating that

## The Battle of Agincourt.....85

	Men at Arms.	Horse	Foot.
John, Sire de Clifford <sup>a</sup> .....	30	90	
John Sire de Roos.....	20		40
Hugh, Sire de Bourgbier.....	20		40
William, Sire de Clynton.....	20		40
Esmon, Sire de Ferrera.....	12		36
Thomas, Baron Carew, Chivalr.....	12		24
John Grey de Ruthyn, Chivalr.....	15		45
Edward Courtenay, Chivaler ..	30		90
Thomas West, Chivaler .....	20		60
		Arblestr <sup>m</sup>	a pec.
John, Sire de Scint Pee .....	20	20	80
John Agarston, Esq.....			3
Nich. Alderwich, Esq.....	3		9
Nich. Alderworth, Esq.....	3		9
Trustan Anderton, Esq .....			2
Thomas Apurton, Esq.....			3
Richard Arundell, Knt <sup>b</sup> .....	1	30	
John Alsoo, Esq.....			3
John Asenhull, Esq.....	2		6

he had agreed to provide 30 men at Arms, and requesting that he might have two "Bacheliers" in his company, and that he and the said two "Bacheliers," might form three of the said thirty men at arms "partiantz les gages encelle partie ordeignez en overe de charite," with which petition the King complied. *Ibid*

<sup>a</sup> See his agreement with the King *Ibid*.

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid*. in which he is described as the King's cousin.



## 86....The Battle of Agincourt.

	Men at Arms.	Horse.	Foot
John Ask, Esq.			
Robert Ashfield, Esq.....			3
John Ashton, Knt.....	3		9
Nich. Ashton, Esq.....			3
William Athirton, Esq.....			2
Nich. Athirton, Esq.....		2	
William Atte Lee, Esq.....			2
John Attilbrigge.....		3	
John Bagot.....	3		9
Gregory Ballard.....			3
William Balne, Clerk of the Kitchen.....			3
Roger Banastre, Esq.....			2
John Banystre, Esq. et al <sup>a</sup>			
John Bauk, Esq. <sup>b</sup> .....			2
Robert Babthorpe, Esq.....	5		15
Randulphe de Barton, Esq.....			2
Oliver de Barton, Esq.....			2
Gilb. Barton, Esq.....		2	
John Baskerville, Knt <sup>c</sup> .....	2		6
Walter Beauchamp, Esq.....	4		12
Charles de Beaumont, Knt.....	4		12
William Bedik, Esq.....			2
John Bell, Esq.....			3

<sup>a</sup> He obtained letters of protection from the King, in May, 1415, for one year, being engaged for that period in his service beyond the seas. *Fœdera*, Tome ix p. 248.

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>c</sup> *Ibid.*, in which he is described as John Baskerville of Hereford, Knt.

## The Battle of Agincourt....87

	Men at Arms	Horse	Foot
John Blacket, Esq.....	2		6
William Blakebourne, Esq.....			3
John Blount, Knt.....	20		60
James Blount, Esq.....			3
Adam de Blundell, Esq.....			3
Henry Blundell, Esq.....			3
Thomas Bold, Esq.....			3
Robert Bolron, Esq.....			2
William Bourghchier, Knt.....	30	90	
Nicholas Bowet, Esq.....			3
Thomas Bowet, Esq.....			3
William Bradshaw, Esq.....			3
William Brancepath, Esq.....			2
William Brokesby, Esq.....	2		6
Henry Bromley, Esq.....			3
Robert Bruce, Esq.....			2
Bawdewyn Bugge, Esq.....	1	3	
Thomas Burcestre, Esq.....			3
John Burgh, Esq.....	3		9
William Burgoyne, Esq.....			3
Marice Brune			
Waut <sup>r</sup> Burton.....			3
Will <sup>m</sup> . Burton, Esq.....			3
William Butill, Knt.....	10		30
John Butiller, Esq.....			3
Robert Castle, Clerk of the Marshalcy.			
William Castellaine, Esq.....			3
Robert Chalons, Knt.....	3	9	
Thomas Chaucer, Esq.....	12		30
Thomas Chaucer, Esq.....	2	36	

## 88....The Battle of Agincourt.

	Men at Arms	Horse	Foot
Thomas Chauworth, Knt <sup>a</sup> .....	8		24
John Chenduit, Esq. ....			2
John Chetewode, and 3 more Esqs. ....			12
John Chetewynd, Esq. ....			3
John Cheyne, Esq. ....	4		12
John Clement, Esq. ....			3
John Clyfford, Esq. ....			3
John de Clyfford, Esq. ....			3
John Clifford, Esq. ....	20		40
John Clynk, Esq. ....			2
John Colvyl, Knt.			
John Coneway, Esq. ....			2
Thomas Corbet, Esq. ....			3
John Cornwail, Knt. ....	30		90
John Covyn, Esq. ....			2
Edw <sup>d</sup> Courtenay, Knt. ....	30		90
William Courtenay, Esq. ....	2		6
John Dartas, Esq. ....	10		30
John Devereux, Knt. ....	250		250
John Durward, Esq.			
Thomas Dulton, Knt. ....	10		30
John Elmham, Esq. ....			3
Thomas Erpyngham, Knt. ....	20		60
Thomas Eston, Esq. ....			3

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<sup>a</sup> He obtained letters of protection in May, 1415, from the King, being engaged in his service for one year beyond the seas. *Fœdera*, Tome ix.

## The Battle of Agincourt....89

	Men at Arms	Horse.	Foot
John Esmond, Esq.....	2		6
Richard Etton, Esq. ....			3
Laurence Everard, Esq.....		3	
John Everdon, Clerk } 2 Clerks. }			4
John Fastolfe, Esq <sup>a</sup> .....	10		30
Simon Felbrigge, Knt. ....	12		36
John Feriby, Clerk of the Wardrobe .....			3
Stephen Ferrour, Esq. ....			8
Henry Filongley. ....		2	
William Fitz Henry.....			3
John Fitz James de Radcliffe... ..	6		18
William Fitz John de Radclyffe .....			2
John Folville .....			3
Henry Fowler.....			2
Bertram de France. ....		2	
Roger Fyenes, Knt. ....	8		24
David Game, Esq.....			3
Richard Gardemewe, Esq.....			2
Robert Gloucestr' Esq.....	1		3
John Graa, Esq .....	2		3
Richard Granson, Knt. ....	2		6
Thomas Gray, Knt <sup>b</sup> .....	24		48
Thomas Greseley, Knt.....	3		9
John Greseley, Knt.....	2		6

<sup>a</sup> See his agreement with the King. *Fodera*, Tome, ix. dated, 8 June, 1415, p. 270.

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.*

## 90. . . . The Battle of Agincourt.

	Men at Arms.	Horse.	Foot.
Andrew Grey, Esq . . . . .			3
John Greyndor, Knt. . . . .	10		30
John Griseley, Knt . . . . .	2		6
Richard Halsham, Esq . . . . .			3
William Hardgrave, Esq. . . . .			3
John Hardgrove, Esq. . . . .			3
William Hardgrove, } and 3 more Esquires. }			12
James Harington, Knt. . . . .	6		18
James Harington, Knt. . . . .	10		30
William Harington, Knt. . . . .	10		30
Richard Hastings, Knt. . . . .	8		24
Stephen Hatfeld, Esq . . . . .	2		6
Thomas Hauley, Knt. . . . .	2		6
Richard Hay, Esq . . . . .			2
Nich. Haywode, Esq*. . . . .			3
Robert Helyon, Esq . . . . .			6
John ap Henry, Esq. . . . .	2		6
Thomas ap Henry, Esq. . . . .	2		6
Robert Heton, Esq. . . . .			3
John Hobildod, Esq. . . . .			2
William Hodilston, Esq. . . . .			3
Jacob Hoget, Esq. . . . .			3
John Haland, Esq . . . . .			3
Nich. Haland, Esq. . . . .			3
William Holt, Esq. . . . .			3

\* He received letters of protection from the King in May, 1415, being engaged for one year in his service beyond the sea. *Fœdera*, Tome ix.



## The Battle of Agincourt.....91

	Men at Arms.	Horse	Foot
John Holton, Esq .....			3
John Horsey, Esq .....			3
Nich. Horton, Esq... ..			3
William de Hudelston, Esq .....			2
Wauter Hungerford, Knt.. .....	20	60	
Robert Hunt, Esq .....			3
Gerard Huyn, Esq.....			2
Lewiz Johan, Esq.....	2		6
John Irby, Esq.....	1		2
John Ireby, Esq.....			2
Richard Kighley, Knt.....	6		18
John Kilner, Esq.....			3
William Kynwolmersh, Coffrer.....	3		9
Robert Lacock, Esq.....			3
John Langville, Clerk of the Spicery .....			3
John Lardener, Esq.			
Nich. Lary, Esq.....			3
Robert Laurence, Esq.....	2		6
Roger Leche, Knt.....	20		60
Phelippe Leche, Knt.....	3		9
William de Legh, Knt.....	3		9
Rowland Leynthale, Knt.			
Rowland Leynthale, Knt.....	12		36
Henry Lound, Esq.....			3
Alisaundre Lound, Knt* .....	2		6

\* See his agreement with the King, dated 12 May, 1415.  
*Fœdera*, Tome ix

## 92. . . . The Battle of Agincourt.

	Men at Arms	Horse.	Foot
Robert Lovell, Esq. . . . .	2		6
John Louch, Esq. . . . .			1
Peter Lowart, Esq. . . . .	6	18	Balistiers.
Thomas Lythebarowe, Esq. . . . .			3
Thomas Mapurley, Esq. . . . .			3
William Marshall, Esq. . . . .			3
Nich. Merbury, Esq. . . . .			18
Nich. Merbury, Esq. . . . .			3
William Meryng, Esq. . . . .			3
John Morley, Esq. . . . .			2
Thomas Morstede, Surgeon. . . . .			3
Thomas Moreton, Clerk of the Wardrobe . . . . .			3
Wm. Mounteney, Esq. . . . .			3
Nich. Mountgomery le filz, Knt. . . . .	3		9
Nich. Mountgomery le filz, Esq. . . . .	3		9
John Mountgomery, Esq. . . . .			3
Hugh de Mourton, Esq. . . . .			3
John Noreys, Esq. Capt of Courney . . . . .	1		9
Nich. Norton, Esq. . . . .			3
John Nowell, Esq. . . . .			2
William Olton, Esq. . . . .			2
William Orell, Esq. . . . .			2
John Osbaldeston, Esq. . . . .			2
Richd Parker, Esq. . . . .			3
Robert Passemere, Esq. . . . .			2
Stephen Payne, Almoigner. . . . .			3

## The Battle of Agincourt....93

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	Men at Arms	Horse	Foot
Henry Pemberton, Esq.....			2
Thomas Percy, Knt <sup>a</sup> .....	2		6
Henry de Percy, Knt.....	6	18	
John Peryent, Esq. ....	3		9
John Phelipp, Knt.....	30		90
John Pilkington, Esq. ....			3
William Pole le filz. ....	20		60
Martin Pole, Esq. ....			3
Rauf de Pole, Esq.....			2
Rauf Pope, Esq. ....			3
William Pope, Esq. ....			3
William Porter, Knt.			
John Pudsey, Esq.			
Robert Quikkesley, Esq. ....			3
John Radclyff, Knt.			
Richard Radclyff, Knt.....	3		9
Robert Radclyffe de Osbalton, Esq. ....			2
Thomas Radclyffe, Esq.....			3
Rauf Ramsey, Esq.....			2
John Rash, Esq <sup>b</sup> ....			3
Thomas Rempston, Knt.....	8		24
Nich. Rerisby, Esq. .			2
John Rider, Esq. ....			3

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<sup>a</sup> He obtained letters of protection from the King for one year, being engaged in his service beyond the seas. *Fadara*, Tome, ix.

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.*

## 94. . . . The Battle of Agincourt.

	Men at Arms	Horse	Foot
Thomas Rigmaiden, Esq . . . . .	2		
Lowys Robbesards, Esq . . . . .			3
John Robessart, Knt. . . . .	18.		6
Rob <sup>t</sup> Rothington, Esq. . . . .			3
John Roundell, Esq . . . . .			2
John Rydere, Esq . . . . .			3
Wauter Sandes, Knt. . . . .	3		
John Saundish.			
Thomas Scarlet, Esq. . . . .	3		
Richard Scroop . . . . .	16.		45
John Selby, Esq. . . . .	2		
John Selby, and 2 more Esqs . . . . .	6		
Henry Sharsbrock, Esq. . . . .	2		
Robert Sheraud, Esq. . . . .			2
Robert Sherard, Esq . . . . .			2
Rauf Shirley, Knt . . . . .	6.		18
Rauf Shotesbroke, Esq. . . . .	2.		6
John Skipton, Esq. . . . .			2
John Skidmore, Knt. . . . .	4.		12
John Southworth, Knt. . . . .	2.		6
Gerard Sprong, Esq. . . . .			4
Hugh Standish, Knt. . . . .	3.		9
Rauf Staneley, Knt. . . . .	4.		12
Robert Staneley, Esq. . . . .			2
Hugh Stanley, Esq. . . . .			3
Robert Stanley, Esq . . . . .			2
John Stanley, Esq. . . . .	8.		24
Thomas Staunton, Esq . . . . .			3
John Steward, Esq. . . . .	4.		12

## The Battle of Agincourt.....95

	Men at Arms	Horse.	Foot.
Thomas Strikeland .....	2		6
Willam Stokeley, Esq. ....			2
William Strange. ....			3
Thomas Strikland, Esq.*.....	2		6
John Sugeras.....			3
John Swillington .....	4		12
William Talbot, Knt. ....	4		
Richard Tempest, Knt. ....	6		
Giles Thorneton, Esq. ....			3
John Tiptoft, Knt.....	30	{ 1 Knts. 27 Esqs }	60.. 30
William Tirwhyte, Esq. . . .			3
John Topclyffe, <sup>b</sup> Esq.....			2
Richard Tounley, Esq. ....			2
William Troutbeck, Esq. } Chamberlain of Chester }	50		650
Roger Trumpyngton, Knt <sup>c</sup> .....	3		9
Thomas Tunstall, Knt <sup>d</sup> . . . .	6		18
William Tyrwhyte, Esq. ....			3
John Vale, Esq. ....			2
Florys Van Askemade.....	5		15

\* See a copy of his agreement with the King. *Federa*, Tome ix. p. 234.

<sup>b</sup> He obtained letters of protection from the King for one year, in consequence of his being engaged in the King's service.

<sup>c</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>d</sup> A copy of his agreement with the King, will be found at length in a former page.



## 96....The Battle of Agincourt.

	Men at Arms.	Horse	Foot
Hertank Van Clux, Knt. ....	3.		9
William Van Jander, Knt. ....	5.		5
Gerard Uffete, Knt. ....	20.		60
Gilbert Umfreville, Knt. ....	20.	90	
Robert de Umfreville, Esq. ....	20.	40	
Robert Urcewyk, Sheriff of Lancast' ....			500
Thomas Warde, Esq. ....			2
Thomas Waterton, Esq. ....	8.		24
William Weld, Esq. ....			2
Adam Whitingham, Esq. ....			3
William Wightman, Esq. ....			3
Thomas Wilcokes, Esq. ....	2.		6
John Yedelish, Knt. ....	2.		6
John Yedelish, Esq. ....	2.		6
Henry Ynglish.			
Total .....	2536.	4128.	3771
	Arblest' .....		98

## The Battle of Agincourt.....97

John Greyndon, Knt. with Mynors.....120

Gerard Van Willighen, Hayns Joye, Walter Stotmaker, Drovankesell Coykyn.	}	Mr Gunners, w <sup>th</sup> other.....25
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Each with 2 Servitours Gunn<sup>m</sup>.....50

Nicholas Brampton, Stuffer of Bacynets.

Albright Mailmaker with other..	}	Armurers. ....12
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Leicester, Guyenne, Irlande.	}	King of Arms.
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Hereford, Mareschal of Arms.

Valletz Peyntours .....4

John Covyn, Sergeant of the Kings Tents and Pa- vilons, with other Yomen of the Pavilons.....	}	..28
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Mr. Nich. Colnet, Phisitian,\* w<sup>th</sup> 3 Archers.

Thomas Morestede,* and William Bradwardyn. ..	}	Surgeons { each with 9 more Surgeons } 20
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\* See his agreement with the King dated 29 April, 1415 *Federa*, Tome ix.

\* See his agreement with the King, in which he is styled the King's Surgeon, to attend himself and to provide fifteen persons, of whom three were to be Archers, and the others "hommes de son mestier,"—dated 29 April, 1415. *Federa*, Tome ix. In p. 252, of the same volume, are two petitions from him, praying to be allowed money to provide necessaries

## 98....The Battle of Agincourt.

John Waterton, Esq. Mast<sup>r</sup> } with Groomes .....60  
of the King's Horse. .... }

John Othvin, Yoman, Surveyour of the Stable.  
Nichol Harewode, Clerk of the Stable.

Ranulph Apulton, Clerk of the King's Avenrie.\*

William Grene Gerneter }  
William Medewey .... } w<sup>th</sup> other yomen Purveyours.12

Gerard de la Strade, Grome of the Horses.

Guy Midelton and }  
John Melton .... } the Kings Guides by night.

Richard Hodel, and }  
Thomas Smith ... } with Yomen Smiths .....12

Richard Berre and other Sadlers, }  
with Yomen Sadlers ..... } .....9

Clerk of the Marshalty.

William Kynwolmersh, Cofferer of the Kings Household  
Mr. William Smith, Esquire with Yomen..... 41

Thomas Harvy and other Servitours of the King.....8

Griffith Percival, with other Yomen of the King.. ....8

Thomas Tunbrigge, }  
with other ..... } Yomen of the King's Household.86

Robert Spore, }  
with other.. } Yomen .....13

for his office and a proper number of persons and carriages. The  
King granted him xii persons and "1 chariot and deuz somers"  
15 May, 1415.

\* *Avenor*, an officer of the King, who provides oats for  
his stable.

## The Battle of Agincourt.....99

William Heryot, { Pages Messeng<sup>rs</sup> of the Kings } .....3  
 with other. .... { Chambr ..... }

Norman Swynford } Yomen of the Kings Poultry .....3  
 with other. .... }

Nicholas Burcestre, } Yomen of the Bakehouse .....8  
 with other ..... }

Willam Balne, Clerk of the Kitchin.

Robert Allerton, and } Under Clerks of the Kitchin,  
 Richard Reston. } Pantry, and Battery

Jacob Meyndy, Clerk, Yoman of the office of Napery.

Wauter Burton, and } Clerks of the Spicery.  
 John Langayle .. }

William Pek, under Clerk of the Spicery.

John Hanham, Clerk of the Poultry.

William Sharpeton, Clerk of the Scullery.

John Canterbury, for the office of Scullery.

Thomas Westerdale, with } Scullery. .... 15  
 Laborers and Bowgemen for the }

John Desye, Clerk of the Bakehouse.

John Breton, Clerk of the Hall.

William Carpenter, with } Carpenters of the Hall ..... 6  
 other }

Thomas Fysh, with other } Labourers of the Hall... 19

John Waterton, and } Bowgemen.  
 William Foster .... }

John Feriby, } Clerks of the Wardrobe.  
 Thomas Morton. }

## 100. . . . The Battle of Agincourt.

William Topnel, and others of the Wardrobe.	
William Topnel, Mast <sup>r</sup> Tayll <sup>r</sup> , with 2 Archers.	
Georg Benet, M <sup>r</sup> Cordwaner, with other.	Cordwaners . . . . . 26
Tho. Matthew, <sup>a</sup> W <sup>m</sup> Temple. . . }	M <sup>r</sup> Carpenters with other Carpent <sup>r</sup> s. 124
Robert Mitchell, with other Fletchers. . . . . 6	
Nich. Frost, <sup>b</sup> with other Bowyers . . . . . 6	
John Flete, with other Whalerights. . . . . 6	
John atte Herst, Robert Berton. }	Colliers.
John Benet, with other Labourers. . . . . 120	
Estephin Payn, Almoigner.	
Thomas Bridde, Sub Almoigner.	
Mast <sup>r</sup> John de Bordin, Clerk, D <sup>r</sup> in Laws, with 1 Clerk, and 2 Archers.	
Rich. Hals, Clerk, with 1 Clerk and 2 Archers.	
M <sup>r</sup> Esmon Lacy, Dean of the King's Chapel.	
John Burnell, and John Mildenhale. }	Chaplains of the King's Chapel.
M <sup>r</sup> Stephen Morpath, with other. . . . }	Chaplains. . . . . 13

<sup>a</sup> See the writ issued to him and William Gill, to provide 120 Carpenters and Turnours, tested 20 April, 1415. *Forders*, Tome ix.

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid*, to provide Bows and Arrows, &c.



## The Battle of Agincourt. . . . 101

Frere Alain Hert.  
Frere J<sup>a</sup> Brotherton } with other of the Revestry.<sup>a</sup> . . 14

### MINSTRELS <sup>b</sup>

John Cliff.  
Thomas Norys Tromper.  
William Baldewyn.  
John Michel.  
Panel Trumper.  
Peut Trumper.  
Richard Pyper.  
Thomas Haliday.  
Wauter Haliday.  
Meysham Pyper.  
Broune Pyper.  
Snayth Fydler.  
William Langton.  
Thomas Hardiberd.  
William Halliday.

<sup>a</sup> The place where the vestments and other articles for the service of the altar were kept.

<sup>b</sup> See *Fœdera*, Tome ix. p. 260, where they are stated to consist of xvij persons; they were assigned xij d each per day. Vide also p. 255, of the same Work.

## 102....The Battle of Agincourt.

It is stated in a former part of this work,\* that since the preceding Roll was printed, another copy has been consulted in the College of Arms, upon the correctness of which it is presumed greater reliance may be placed; and it is therefore necessary that such variations between them as are at all material, should be noticed. That copy is in French, but with the following exceptions the preceding is a literal translation of every part of it.

The names in the retinue of the duke of Gloucester, from "Richard Bytterley" p. 4, to "Nicholas Coule" p. 5, again occur in the retinue of sir Henry Husee, pp. 48-9.

Page.	Copy in this Work.	Copy in the College of Arms
3	Thomas Malgrane, <i>possibly</i>	Thomas Malgrave.
5	Between Nicholas Coule, and Richard Estnay,	} William Coule.
6	William Stalvorthe,	
10	"Which was at the battle," &c. Lewys Corenwayle,	William Stalworthe. "qui furent, &c. Lewys Cornewayle.
12, 13, 18, 28, 44, 60, bis.	} "That was," &c.	} "qui furent," &c.

\* p. cccxvii.

## The Battle of Agincourt. . . . 103

Page.	Copy in this Work.	Copy in the College of Arms.
15	John Holgrane, <i>possibly</i>	John Holgrare.
16	The word "Lances" in the copy in the College of Arms, occurs opposite the name of Olyver Groos, instead of that of William Argington	
20	The Erle of Suff' the sonne that was at the Battle of Egync'	Le Counte de Suthfolke le fitz q' fuit tue al Batayle D'agincourt.
21	Robert Corun, <i>possibly</i>	Robert Cornu.
24	Robert Barent,	Robert Barent.
25	Opposite the name of Thomas Hoo, the word "Lanc" occurs.	
	Dany Boydon,	Dany Boydon.
26	Thomas Kitzhenry,	Thomas Fitzhenry.
	Memorandum that Robert Babthorpe, Knight, &c.	Memorand' quod Robertus Bapthorpe miles, Contro- tulator Hospitiū Regis li- beravit hic per manus suas proprias hanc cedulam vj die Maij anno regni regis Henrici quinti quinto, As- serens et testificans idem Robertus quod infrascriptas Rolandus Lenthale habuit in obsequio D'ni Regis apud bellum d' Agin- court om'es et singulas personas infrascriptas.
30	Richard Fythian, John Melyo'	Richard Fythian. John Meylo.
34	John Leneny, <i>possibly</i>	John Lereny.
38	"The Kings Coferer,"—"Cofrer del Hostell du Roy."	
41	"Bore the Baner," &c.—"Baner de la Banere," &c.	
	"Esquire S'rgeant of the Kinges Pallie."	"Esquier et S'rgeant de pullie du Roy."
43	William Bank, <i>possibly</i>	William Bank.
44	"Lances—lxij." to which is added,	"Archers souls avaunditz gentilhomes, clxxxv."

## 104. . . . The Battle of Agincourt.

Page.	Copy in this Work.	Copy in the College of Arms.
51		The word <i>Monsr</i> stands in the margin and might apply to all the persons mentioned in that page.
52	"on sa Retinu,"	ou i. e. "ov sa Retinu."
53		
54	John le Heche,	John le Leche.
56	Between William Ward, and John de Morley,	Thomas Ward, instead of in p. 57.
57	"which died,"	"qui moret."
58	"which God assoile," with his Retenu,	"q' Dieu assoyle." "et sa Retenu."
61	Robert Hauke, possibly	Hauley
62	"of the Kinge,"	"de Nicholas Merbery."
63	"Surgeant du Roy viij,"	"Surgeantz du Roy, vij"
64	Thomas Holwysecont, possibly	Thomas Holwysecont
66	"Overseer of Harfleu,"	"Expectant a Harfleu."
67	on deux archers, John Cornwayle,	ou i. e. ov deux archers. John Cornwayle.
68	on v archers,	ou i. e. ov v archers.
69	Robert Wisse, Peres Thomas Crusak, Ellingham, Hugh Tangley,	Roger Wyssse. Thomas Cusak. Peres. Ellingham. Hugh Tangley.
71	John Wastyns malade a Harfler, Mons. John Bowchier, &c.	Mons. John Bowchier John Wastyns malad a Harflu Under these name, "Summa totalis istius Rotuli—viij <sup>c</sup> xij lances. Summa tot' istius Rotuli ij <sup>m</sup> lxxiij Sagitari."

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Page.

Copy in this Work.

Copy in the College of Arms.

Be it remem-  
bered, &c.

Faict a remembr' q' Robert Babthorp Ch'Pr Countroller del Hostell n're S<sup>r</sup> le Roy m' livre as barons del Exchequer n're dit S<sup>r</sup> le Roy p' commaundement du Roy le xix<sup>me</sup> iour de Novembr' l'an n're dit S<sup>r</sup> le Roy quart cest Rolle contenant xvij prestes le darreyn prest endente ovesq' iceste bille laquelle Rolle contient parcell de lez nomz des genz q' furent ovesq' le Roy al bataille de Agencourt c'est assavoir le s<sup>r</sup>c de quant de l'an de son regne tierce par execution eut faire pur le p<sup>r</sup>fit n're dit S<sup>r</sup> le Roy et laquelle bille ainsi prist du d<sup>te</sup> Rolle est livre par lez ditz Barons al avaunt dit Mons. Robert.

ITINERARY OF THE EXPEDITION, FROM SUNDAY 11th AUGUST, WHEN IT QUITTED ENGLAND, UNTIL SATURDAY THE 24th NOVEMBER, 1415, UPON WHICH DAY KING HENRY THE FIFTH RETURNED TO LONDON.

Left England.	Sunday, 11th August.
Entered the Seine.	Tuesday, 13th.
Landed at Kedecaus.	Wednesday, 14th.
Invested Harfluer, and was at the siege of that place from that day until its surrender.	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="font-size: 3em; margin-right: 10px;">}</div> <div>           Saturday, 17th                              to            Sunday, 22nd September.         </div> </div>



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Henry entered Harfluer.	Monday, 23rd.
Left Harfluer.	Tuesday, 8th October.
At Arques.	Friday, 11th.
At Ewe, and slept there.	Saturday, 12th.
At Abbeville.	Sunday, 13th.
Passed Amiens.	Monday, 14th.
At Boves.	Tuesday, 15th.
At Corby.	Thursday, 17th.
At Nesle.	Friday, 18th.
Crossed the Somme.	Saturday, 19th.
Received the French heralds	Sunday, 20th.
Crossed the river Canche, <i>alias</i> Swords.	Tuesday, 22nd.
At Bouvieres l'Escaillon.	Wednesday, 23rd.
At Blangy, but took up their quarters that night at Maisoncelles.	Thursday, 24th.
Fought the battle of AGIN- COURT, and slept that night at Maisoncelles.	Friday, 25th.
Left Maisoncelles for Calais.	Saturday 26th.
Arrived at Calais.	Tuesday, 29th.
Arrived at Dover.	Saturday, 17th November.
Left Dover.	Sunday, 18th.*
Arrived at Eltham, and slept there.	Friday, 23rd.
Entered London.	Saturday, 24th.

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\* According to the Chronicler in the text; but other writers state that the king remained some days at Dover, and which is most probable, for he did not reach London until a week after he landed.

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ORDINANCE MADE BY RICHARD THE II. ANNO 1386,  
FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE ARMY.

[*Harl. MSS.* 1309. Referred to p. clxxxi.]

THEs ben the Statutes, Ordenances, and Custumes to be holden in the Hoste ordeyned and made by good advise, and deliberacion of owre moste excellent souveraygn lorde kyng Richarde, and John duke of Lancastre, Stewarde of Englande, Thomas erle of Essex and Buckyngham, Cunstable of Englande, Thomas Moubray erle of Notyngham Marshal of Englande, and all other lordes, erles, barons, and banerettes, and wise knyghts, that thei called into them at that tyme, beyng at Duresyn the xvij daie of the moneth of June the ix<sup>th</sup> yer of the raigne of owre souveraigne lord kyng Richarde the seconde. [A<sup>o</sup> 1386.]

Fyrste that all manner of people of what nation, estate, or condition, thei be of, be obey-ante to owre said souveraigne lorde the kyng, to his cunstable, and marshall, upon payne of forfetyng of body and goodes.

Also that no man so hardy to touche the sacrament of the aulter nor the pyxe wherin it is enclosed upon payne to be draune, hanged, and his hedde to be smeten of.

Also that no man be so hardy to rebelle or to pille churche, ne to distroie no man of religion, ne woman, or any other man belongyng to the church, nor to take no prisoner but if he bere armys, nor to forse woman upon payne of hangyng.

Also that non be so hardi to goo before, but abide in his bataill, under the banner or pennon of his lorde or master, but only the herbegers whose names their lordes and masters shall delyver to the cunstable and marshall, and this upon payne to lose their horses and harnais.

Also that no man take lodgeyng but by the assignement of the cunstable, and marshall or herbegers; and after the lodgyngs ys onys assentid and delyverid that non be so hardy to remove or dislodge into any other plase for

## 108....The Battle of Agincourt.

dyverse causes that myght happen, upon payne to forfeit horse and harneys, and his body in areste and at the kynges pleasure.

Also that everi man be obedient to his captayn to doo his watche and warde, to goo a forageing, and all thinges that appertayneth to a soudeour to doo, upon payne of losing horse and harneys, and his bodi to be in areste with the marshall untill he hath made agrement with his maister, as shall be ordaynied by the courte.

Also that none be so hardi to robbe ne pille other, nouthur in vittailles, forrages, nor non other thinge, upon payne to have his hedde smeten of; nor to robbe non vittailers nor marchauntes, or other, whatsoever they be, that cometh to refreshe the hoate upon like payne. And he that knoweth any suche thinges to open it to the custable and marshall of suche roberies shall have xx<sup>li</sup> nobles for their payne.

Also that for no debate of armes, prises, lodgeryges, nor for non other thinge whatsoever it be, that non make non riott, contention nor debate in the hoate, nor that ther be no parties nor assemblise of people nor otherwise for any quarrell, and thus as well of the great and principall, as of leste, upon payne to lese their horse and harneys and their bodies to be at the kynges pleasure. And yf it be a boye or a page he shall lese his right eare; but yf any fynde themselfe grevid, he to shewe his grefe to the custable and marshall, and ther shall have right doon to them.

Also that none be so hardi to make no contention nor debate in the hoate of old greves, nor for non newe, by the whiche it myght happen any man to be slayue throuought the same debate, he or they that ben in the defaulte of the same, or a counsaillyng of it, shal be hanged. and also yf it happen that any crie in his maisters name, or his anne for to arise any people, whereby ther might come any stryfe in the hoate he that hath made the said crie shalbe drawen and hanged.

## The Battle of Agincourt. . . . 109

Also that non be so hardi to crie havok, upon payne to have their hedde smeten of; and that he or they that be begynners of the said crie shal have also their hedys streken of and theyr bodies to be hanged by their armes.

Also that non be so hardi to crie to horsebak in the hoste for the great parell that myght falle to all the hoste, whiche God defende, and this on payne to lese his beste horse yf he be a man of armys or archer on horsebak, and if he be a archer on fote or other boye or page, he shall have the right ear cut off.

Item yf any maner of recounteryng of ennies be, and in the same any enemy be overthrowen, thow he that hath borne him doune goth forth and foloweth the chace, and another cometh and taketh the faith of the said enemy, he shall have the halfe of the raunson of the said prisoner; and he that overthrew hym, hym the other halfe, so that he that hath his faith shall have the keepyng of the prisoner, gevyng suretie to his partener.

Item yf a man take a prisoner and another cam upon him and wolde have parte in thretenyng or elles will kille him, he shall have no parte thow that parte be grauntid him; and if he do kille the prisoner he shalbe arestid by the marshall and not to be delyverid untill he be agreid with the parties, and his horse and harneis forfait to the cunstable.

Item that no man make non outridyng bi daie nor be nyght but by the leve and knowlege of their hedde capetain of the battail in the whiche he is under, so that the capteyne if nede be may socure them where thei be, upon payne of losyng horse and harneis.

Item that for no newes nor alarum nor affraie whatsoever it be may happen in the hoste, that no man do move owte of his arraie from the batailles, if thei be goyng, nor if thei be at their lodgeyng also, but by the assignement of their capetayne of the bataillis, upon payne of forfetyng horse and harneis to the cunstable.



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Also that everi man paie the thirde parte of his wynnynges to his lorde and maister. And thei that be not in wages but onli lodgeid under the bauner or pendon of any capetayne must do so too.

Also that non be so hardy to sett forth and displace any banner or pendon of Saint George, nor non other, for to cause men to withdrawe them from the hoste for to goo any wher, upon the payne of them that so doo, the capetayne to be drawen and hanged, and thei that foloweth hym to have their hedes smytten of, and their landes and goodes to be forfeit to the kynge

Also that everi man of what estate, condicion, or nation thei be of, so that he be of owre partie, bere a signe of the armes of Saint George, large bothe before and behynde, upon parell that yf he be slayne or wounded to deth he that hath so doon to hym shall not be putte to deth for defaulte of the cross that he lacketh. And that non enemy do bere the same token or crosse of saint George, notwithstanding if he be prisoner, upon payne of dethe

Also yf any take a prisoner that by and by when he is come to the hoste that he brynge him to his capetayne or maister, upon payne to lese his parte to his said master, and he to brynge hym to the kynge, cunstable, and marshall, as sone as he well maye withowte ledyng him any waie, so that he may be examyned of the newes and conveyance of th'enemyes, upon payne to lose his thirde to hym that can firste geve knowledge to the cunstable or marshall; and that everi man kepe or cause to be kepte with his men his prisoner, that he rideth not forthe with the battailes, nor to goo abroad to see the lodgynges without havyng good watching upon him, so that he not espie the privetes of the hoste, upon payne to lese his said prisoner, reservyng the thirde of the hoole to his said lorde or maister if he be not founde in the faulte; and the secunde parte to him that can first take hym; and thirde parte to the cunstable; and upon the same payne: and also his body



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to be prisoned at the kynges pleasure that he do not lete prisoner goo owte of the hoste for his raunsom, nor for non other cause, withoute licence of the kyng, cunstable, or chief of the battaill in the whiche he is.

Also that everi man do well and truly his watch in the hoste and with as many men of armes and archers as he is assigned unto, and to abide the terme sett to hym, withowte goyng any other waie, save by the assignement of the chief of the wache, till it be tyme, on payne to have his hedde smeten of.

Also that non do geve sauf conduit to prisoner, nor to none other, nor also leve to non enemy to come into the hoste, upon payne of forfaytyng his goodes to the kyng and his bodi in areste at the kynges pleasure, but onli owre souveraigne lorde the kyng, the duke of Lancastre stewarde, the cunstable, and marshall; and that non be so hardi to breke the sauf conduct of owre said souveraigne lorde the kyng, upon payne to be drawen and hanged, and his goodes and landes forfait to the kyng. Nor also to breke the sauf conduit of the said duke, cunstable, and marshall, upon payne to have ther hedes smyten of.

Also if any man take a prisoner that he take his faith, and his hedde pece, or his right gauntelet of hym in a gage, and in token that he hath so taken hym, or elles to leve hym in kepyng with some of his men, upon payne that if he do not as ys said, an another cometh after and taketh hym, if he be owte of kepyng as ys said other hedde pece or gauntelot in gauge, he shall have the said prisoner, how be it thow the firste have his faith

Also that no man be so hardi to receyve another mannes servande that is in couvenaunte for this viage, as well souldour, man of armes, archer, page, or boye, after that he be demaunded and chalenged bi his maister, upon payne to be imprisoned till he have made agreement to the complaynaunt by the jugment of the courte, and his horse and harneis to be forfait to the cunstable.

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Also that none be so hardi to goo a foragyng before them that shall appoynte the lodgeyngs as herbengers, and if it be a man of armes that so goth afore he shall lose horse and harneis to the cunstable, and his body in the marchallis areste; and yf he be an archer, page, or boye, he shall have his right eare cutte of.

Also that non be so hardi for to lodge hymselfe, but bi the assignement of the herbengers, whiche be assigned to make lodgeynges, on the foresaid payne.

Also that everi lorde whatsoever he be, shall cause to be delyverid the names of the herbengers to the cunstable and marshall, on payne that any cometh and take lodgeyng, and his name be not delyverid to the cunstable and marshall, he shall lose his horse and armes.

### NOTES\* AND ERRATA.

Page.

xxxiv. l. 17 For "mutantis" read "mutandis."

xl. *Pipes de corio*.—These leathern pipes were for the purpose of preventing the horses being galled by the gearing, and have been retained to the present day.

xliii. l. 8. For "loyal" read "faithful."

xlix. *A collar called Pusan d'or*.—That is, of gold manufactured at Pisa. This explanation occurs in a deed of Henry V in the *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 405. *Quoddam magnum colerum vocatum Pusan, de operationibus*

\* For the greater part of these Notes the Author has to express his acknowledgments to his learned friend Dr. Meyrick.

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coronarum et bestiarum et de albo inamelatum bestiis illis super berragio viride positis. The word was variously written Pusen, Pysane, Piza ne, Pissand, Pesane, and Pesens.

hii. *Candlesticks with pikes*.—Those which instead of having nozles, were furnished with spikes, on which the candles were stuck. The fashion still remains for altar candlesticks in the chapels at Oxford.

liv. *St George's*.—Judging from the route, this seems to be St. George's in the Fields.

lxvii. l. 4. For "sixteenth" read "fifteenth."

lxxii. l. 12. For "natu" read "natu"

xcv. *Battalions*.—The reader must bear in mind that this word is invariably used, not in its modern sense, but as the translation of *battailes*, which implied those divisions of an army, that at present obtain the name of *lines* or *columns* according to their position.

xcix. These *tubes* were a small kind of ordnance; hand firearms were not invented before the year 1430.

xcvii. *Six thousand bacmets*, implies as many men at arms. *Flandolles* appears to be a misprint for *Rhondelles*, the circular shields borne by such as were engaged at the engines and others, to protect them during their operations.

c. l. 4. For "want" read "wont."

ciii. *Arblesters*, from the French Arbalétriers, i. e. Cross-bow-men.

cv. l. 16. For "city" read "town"

cviii. *Upper end was drawn downwards*.—This seems to refer to a flat covering, which turned on two pins on opposite sides, and was pulled down to protect the men while preparing, and pushed up when they were ready to assault the enemy. An ancient machine of this character occurs in an illumination of a "Cronique d'Angleterre" of the time of Edw IV. in the Royal Library in the British Museum, marked 14 E. IV.

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xxxviii. l. 6. For "mountain" read "hill."

cxixii. *Tappetes*.—This is a corruption of *Trepget*, itself contraction of *Trebuchet*, called also *Trebois* and *Trabuchs*. It was a machine invented by the French, and named *Trois bouches*, from discharging three stones from three mouths or boxes at the same time. For further information respecting it see the Glossary to the "Critical Inquiry into Ancient Armour."

cxli. *Ducatus* here implies the office of the *Dux* or leader and may therefore be translated "the generalship."

cxlvi. *Pierced between the plates of his armour*.—All the monumental effigies of the time of Henry V. shew that the abdomen was then covered by a succession of plates sometimes termed *Taces*, from the German language, because they covered the pockets.

cxlviii. *Berruyeres* is a misprint for *Berryeres* or beavers.

clxxxiv. *Cotes d'armes*.—The monumental effigy of Richard Vere, Earl of Oxford, at Earl's Colne, Essex, who died in 1416, and an illumination in a MS. List of Benefactors to the Abbey of St. Albans, in the Cotton Lib. Nero D. vii. representing Robert Chamberlayne, Esquire to King Henry Vth. exhibit the appearance of the *Cote d'armes* or emblazoned jupon of this time.

clxxxvi. *Aguilettes*.—In the time of Henry V. the fronts of the shoulders, a wound received in which rendered a man hors de combat, were protected by circular plates called *palettes*, and these were attached by means of straps or points, as they were called, with tags or *aguilettes* at the end. The word *bec* implies the whole fastening. The elbows were sometimes similarly protected. An illumination in Lydgate's Pilgrim, in the Harl. MS. in the Brit. Mus. marked 4826, exhibits the Earl of Salisbury with *palettes*, in which the *aguilettes* are very conspicuous.

*Bachinet à barriere* should evidently be *à barriere*, the

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is having a heaver. The portrait of Robert Chamberlayne before mentioned, gives a fine specimen of this, with the pipe at the apex of the basinet holding its plume of feathers, first adopted at the commencement of the reign of Henry V<sup>th</sup>.

clxxxvii. *Three fingers*.—These were the three fingers with which the archers drew the bow string, the little finger being alone disused.

clxxxviii. *Serpentines*.—A species of ordnance. It was so denominated from its mouth being made to resemble that of a serpent, as the culverine *colubrina* was from the snake; the fuleon, and its diminutive the falconet, from the bird of prey so called, and others. The idea had been taken from the tubes for casting the Greek fire

cxci. *French loaded with armour*.—The long coats of steel were the breast and back plates, with their dependant taces. The white harness was the hausse-col which was put over the camail that hung from the basinet, and the monumental effigy of Sir Edmund de Thorpe, in Ashwelthorpe Church Norfolk, gives an example of it.

cxcvii. *Nestorques*.—A corruption from "Now strike," the words used by the Marshal, who having finished his duty, by having arranged all the troops, threw up his baton, and made this exclamation.

cxviii. *Mallets and bill-hooks*.—These were the ordinary weapons of the infantry, and continued in use till the end of the reign of Henry VIII<sup>th</sup>.

cciii. *Morask*.—Moresque or Moorish

ccv. *Helmet with a large splendid crest*—The crest was at this time only worn with the helmet, but the helmet solely at the tournament, the basinet having a visiere or baviere, as it was indifferently termed, being used in battle. So the previous accounts represent Henry with the crown on his basinet. Yet over his monument, in Westminster Abbey, are his war-shield and saddle, with his tournament helmet;



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and so over that of the Black Prince, at Canterbury, are the war-shield and tournament helmet, surmounted by the knight's cap and crest. Henry the Vth's shield is curious from the position of the straps for the arms, which, instead of being placed one above the other, are in the same horizontal line; and so the shield appears on the arm of one of the knights murdering Thomas à Becket, as painted in the sepulchral canopy of Henry Vth at Canterbury. The shield and saddle of Henry Vth, there is every reason to believe, are those which he used at the BATTLE OF AGINCOURT.

ccvi. *Stations*, i. e. ranks.

ccxi. l. 16. For "helmets" read "basinets."

l. 18. For "then" read "they."

ccxii. *Vire*—As the arrow was shot by the long bow, so was the vire by the cross one. It was also termed *verou*, and appears from the following line of Guillaume le Breton, to have been barbed:

*Et nonnulla velut verubus dentata recurva.*

The *viraton*, another kind of arrow for the cross-bow, had its feathers put on diagonally, so as to spin round in the air.

ccxv. The following most interesting remarks on armies in early periods of English history, by the best living authority on the subject,—Dr. Meyrick—form an important illustration of the question discussed in the text.

Nothing is more difficult than to ascertain the numbers of ancient armies. The efficient force being the cavalry, particularly the heavy-horse, they were considered strong in proportion as this species of troops abounded, and therefore the old chronicles often speak of the men-at-arms only when they wish to enumerate the combatants. Vaillant, in his *Hist. of France*, vol. v. p. 179, says, "that in computing the numbers of an army every man-at-arms should be multiplied by three, as he had his squire to bear his lance, and his body squire." By this he evidently supposes each man-at-arms was a knight, which was by

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no means the case. In the time of Henry Vth. every warrior in complete armour was a man-at-arms, the term therefore included both knights and esquires. The former had their valets, who, from wearing long sword-like knives, were also termed coustillers or custrels, and their pages, the latter their servientes or serjeants, as at present captains in the army have their two batmen, subalterns but one, whose duty it is to wait on them, and fight in the ranks. Froissart, speaking of the French army at Pontiers, says, in one place, that there were "at least twenty thousand men at arms," and in another only "three thousand knights." Vaillant seems to be countenanced by another passage of this author, in which he says, "counting all sorts there were upwards of sixty thousand combatants." Yet we cannot reconcile this chronicler with himself if we suppose that by "men-at-arms" he invariably means the heavy cavalry only, as he informs us that this same French army was formed into three columns, each containing sixteen thousand men-at-arms, which enumeration gives twenty-eight thousand more than he had before included. These, therefore, must be regarded as the hobilars or light-cavalry, for that they were horse soldiers is clear from there being a pennon to every two hundred and twenty-five, and a banner to every four hundred and fifty, which leaves twelve thousand or upwards for infantry. Now if of the twenty thousand heavy cavalry we reckon three thousand knights, with eleven thousand attendant esquires, which gives three or four to each, and six thousand independent esquires, we shall have three thousand coustillers, three thousand pages, and six thousand serjeants, making together twelve thousand, the number of infantry stated. A charter of Randle, third Earl of Chester, to his Barons, compels them to bring into the field, for each knight's fee, one horse harnessed and two unharnessed; and Madox, in his History of the Exchequer, says that three saddles were requisite to make a knight, Vaillant is therefore borne out in his mode of calculation as far as knights are concerned. In the time of Henry II<sup>nd</sup>. the knight was attended by his esquire and page, in that of Edward I<sup>st</sup>. he had four or five esquires, a coustiller, and page; and the particular instance of James

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Lord Audeley, at Poitiers, shews that the esquires fought near the person of their master. From the contracts between Henry V. and his subjects, which have been noticed in this work, it appears that the knight was obliged to furnish six horses, which means, that besides himself he was to provide five other men mounted; and when the contract was made with an esquire he was to produce four, namely, himself and three hobilars. It is to be recollected that the cavalry consisted of men-at-arms, hobilars, and mounted archers, the infantry of bow-men, bill-men, and supernumeraries.

The *men-at-arms* were in complete armour from head to foot, the appointments of the esquires differing from those of the knights merely in not being gilt. They seldom wore helmets in war, but had their faces protected by a moveable ventaille attached to their basinets. It was about this time that plumes of feathers or rather pennaches first came into fashion, being inserted into a socket on the apex, or charnel as it was called, of the basinet. The knights wore three feathers, the king's esquires two, and the other esquires one. The throat was protected by a hausse-col or gorget of plate, the arm-pits by palettes, and the hands by what the heralds term close gauntlets, which were unknown before the commencement of the fifteenth century. Over the armour was usually worn the jupon or emblazoned tunic, and in that case the military girdle, richly ornamented, was put on to keep it in its proper place. The weapons of a man-at-arms were a lance sword and dagger, and at his saddle-bow on one side a short-sword, at the other a mace; for protection he had a shield. His horse was covered with a housing of chain-mail, over which was a caparison charged with the arms of the rider; on his head was a chanfron, and between his ears the testiere.

The *hobilars* rode on small unarmed horses, wore a basinet without ventaille, back, breast, and thigh pieces; they used a light lance and a sword.

The *mounted archers* had a skull-cap of plate or mail, covered with canvas, a hauberk of chain or a brigandine jacket, a sword and battle axe.

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The bow-men on foot wore either large jackets of black cloth lined with mail, or brigandines, and had the same caps and weapons as their mounted brethren.

The bill-men had probably no other armour than salades on their heads, and no other weapon than their bill and long knife.

The supernumeraries had pikes, glaives, gisarmes, mauls, and axes, indifferently, but no kind of armour.

Henry had in his pay cross-bow-men, but none appear to have been at Agincourt.

ccxvi. *Pourpoint*.—This was a garment worn sometimes under sometimes above the armour, but the gambeson and aunketon having fallen into disuse, the pourpoint assumed their place in the time of Henry V. and became an under garment. It was so called from being stitched through with the threads knotted on the exterior, or, as it were, embroidered. When worn as armour itself it was furnished with sleeves.

ccxxiii. *Quarrels*.—Arrows for cross-bows were so called when their heads were quarré, square, or made with four projections.

ccxxiv. *Mallets*.—From this passage it appears that those of lead were first used at this time; for a Parisian mob, thence denominated Maillotins, had armed themselves with common ones in 1413.

ccxxxi. *David Gamme*.—Dr Meyrick says, "Davydd gam, i. e. Squint-eyed David, was a native of Brecknockshire, and holding his land of the honor of Hereford, was a strenuous supporter of the Lancastrian interests. He was the son of Llewelyn, descended from Eneon Sais, who possessed a handsome property in the parishes of Garthbrengy and Llanddew. In consequence of an affray in the High Street of Brecknock, in which he unfortunately killed his kinsman, he was compelled to fly into England to avoid a threatened prosecution, and became the implacable enemy of Owain Glyndwr, whom he

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attempted to assassinate. Gam, as may be supposed, was his nickname, as he called himself David Llewelyn, and there are good grounds for supposing that Shakspeare has caricatured him in Captain Fluellen; his descendants, however, conceiving that his prowess more than redeemed his natural defect, took the name of Game. Sir Walter Raleigh has an eulogium upon his bravery and exploits in the field of Agincourt, in which he compares him to Hannibal. He was knighted on the field, with his two companions in glory and death, Sir Roger Vaughan, of Bedwardine, in Herefordshire, and Sir Walter, or rather Watkin Llwyd, of the lordship of Brecknock. Sir Roger had married Gwladis, the daughter of Sir David Gam, who survived him, and became the wife of another hero of Agincourt, Sir William Thomas, of Raglan, and Sir Watkin was, by his marriage, related to Sir Roger."

ccxxxvii. *Hoblers*.—Hobilers, for so the light cavalry were called, from riding on slighter horses than the men-at-arms, which were termed Hobbies.

cclii. *Pyle of Ke-te-caus*—Pyle or Pill, a small fortress.

ccliii. *In his mouth he had a stone*. The cannon balls were, at this time, made of stone; and an order occurs, during this reign, for forming a certain number from the quarries of Maidstone.

ccclxi. *Habirion*.—Hauhergeon, a shirt of mail, kept from pressing on the chest, and thence preventing respiration, by a breast-plate underneath.

cccxli. *Guillame Martel bore the Oriflamme at Agincourt*. He was the last knight to whom it was confided his appointment to that office was dated on the 28th March, 1414. Martel was killed in that battle.—"Academie des Inscriptions," tome xiii p. 640.



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